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ABSTRACT

Designed as a forum for the exchange of ideas concerning international and intercultural communication, this annual volume covers a variety of topics. Its eight articles discuss taxonomies for planning intercultural communication, a systematic framework for analyzing intercultural communication, culture and communication in the modern Japanese corporate organization, the effects of inservice training on teachers' attitudes toward cultural diversity, gaze behavior in interracial and intraracial interactions, an analysis of the Puerto Rican political campaign of 1940, the effects of cultural factors on mass communication systems, and career preparation in intercultural communication. The volume also contains a state-of-the-art study of intercultural communication, reviews of recent literature, and a cumulative index to articles and reviews published in the first five volumes of the "Annual." (FL)

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Volume V

December 1979

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Volume V 1979

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Manuscript Submissions: William B. Gudykunst, Editor of the *Annual* for Volumes VII-IX, seeks manuscripts for Volume VII on any topic pertaining to international, intercultural, or interracial communication. Especially encouraged are manuscripts, either empirical or theoretical, with a broad range of appeal, including state-of-the-art essays, book reviews, etc.

All manuscripts submitted will be given careful consideration by the editorial board. Gudykunst has named Young Yun Kim (Governors State University) as the Associate Editor and Dennis Tafoya (University of North Carolina) as the Book Review Editor. Five copies of the manuscript, using the *MLA Style Sheet, Second Edition,* and an abstract of approximately 150 words should be sent to William B. Gudykunst, Department of Communication Arts, University of Hartford, West Hartford, CT 06117. Persons interested in reviewing books should correspond directly with Dennis Tafoya, Department of Speech Communication, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* is a yearly publication of the Speech Communication Association devoted to the areas of international, intercultural, interracial, interethnic, and cross-cultural communication. Consistent with the goals of the Speech Communication Association, the *Annual* is designed to promote study, criticism, research, teaching, and application of the scientific, humanistic, and artistic principles of international and intercultural communication. It publishes articles, book reviews, and other features of interest to scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, administrators, and practitioners of international and intercultural communication.

Like the previous four volumes of the *Annual*, this volume has several articles dealing with various aspects of intercultural and international communication. This volume continues the tradition of publishing book reviews in the section of "Review of Recent Literature." Finally, this issue includes a cumulative index to articles and book reviews published in the first five volumes of the *Annual* in order to facilitate greater use of the materials published thus far.

It is difficult to appropriately acknowledge, by name, each individual who contributed to the preparation of this volume. First, I would like to express my appreciation to present and former members of the Speech Communication Association's Commission for International and Intercultural Communication for their continued support to sponsor and publish the *Annual*. My very special thanks to Davis S. Hoopes, Margaret D. Pusch and George W. Renwick, of the Intercultural Network, Inc. for their entrepreneurship and financial support for printing this volume under a special agreement with the Speech Communication Association. I am obliged to the Department of Communication of Arizona State University for providing encouragement and support, in varied forms, for preparing this volume. I am particularly grateful to authors of the manuscripts, our consulting editors, Associate Editor William G. Davey, Book Review Editor Willard A. Underwood, our Editorial Assistants — Suzanne Lynn Drake, Robin Salem, and Lara Collins Witt — and many others who helped me in preparing this volume. I would like to thank William Work and Wilson Korpi of the Speech Communication Association for their continued support in publishing this issue. Finally, I want to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to my wife, Pushpa, and my children, Kelly, Neal, and Ravi, for putting up with the late nights and long weekends which I have spent working on this volume.

Nemi C. Jain
Arizona State University
Editor

TAXONOMIES FOR PLANNING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

ALFRED G. SMITH

When cultures interact, much of the result is determined by the characteristics of each culture. Characteristics traditionally used in taxonomies of culture, such as culture area or psychological type, are not designed to predict the results of intercultural communication. Much more complex taxonomies are needed. This paper proposes that the most important characteristics are the changes each culture has already undergone, represented by vectors of the amount and direction of change. For Micronesia 25 years ago, these vectors include total amount and specific direction of foreign contact, desire for change and degree of self-sufficiency, and others. For each culture these vectors form a matrix. In intercultural communication the matrix of each culture is an input for the matrix of the other culture. The interaction of one Micronesian culture with another, or with Japan or Spain, is a product, or sum, or other empirically determinable relation between the matrices.

Again and again intercultural communication runs into that hornet's nest, the classification of cultures. When people of one group communicate with people of another group, they need to know what those others are like. To describe and characterize them is to classify them. For a football game, one team needs to know about the other. It could classify the opponents as Californians rather than Pennsylvanians, but that is not particularly relevant to the game. Much more important is whether the opponents specialize in offense rather than defense, or ground offense rather than aerial.

Such characterizations by relevant features are like taxonomies in biology. The classification of animals by the presence or absence of backbones, and the distinction between plants that have parallel veined leaves and plants whose leaves have branching veins, are analogous to classifications of softball teams and of cultures. In the natural sciences, taxonomies provide order and meaning in what would otherwise be a jumble and chaos of experience.[1]

In the social sciences, taxonomies can do even more. When a social scientist knows the relevant features of different groups, and knows how such features generally relate to one another, he may be able to predict the results when the groups interact. He can lay odds on which football team will win, by how much, and whether by rushing, passing, or kicking. He may be able to predict the effects of broadcasts sent from Southlandia to Northlandia, and plan more effective broadcasts.

This paper proposes an approach to making such predictions and plans in intercultural communication. The end in view is to consider each culture as a table of the vectors of the relevant features. The aim is to consider what happens when the table or matrix of one culture interacts with that of another culture in intercultural engagements. When each matrix is partly an input and an output for the other, partly in cooperation, partly in competition with the other, what kinds of product mix will probably result?

Suppose Chevrolet makes five different models of cars, and each model has as its relevant features its own costs for materials, labor, and manufacturing, and its own rates of profitability. Suppose further that Buick makes five different models, each with its costs and profitabilities. Then suppose the two factories merged. Computational programming in industrial management can determine the most profitable product mix of the combined operation: 10% Chevrolet compacts, 8% Buick stationwagons, and so on.

Naturally, the principal concern for studies of intercultural communication is not the managerial optimization of profits, but simply predicting the resultant product mix.

When Southlandia sends aggressive civil rights promoters to fatalistic, patriarchal miners in Northlandia, the product mix may be partly predictable, and thereby better planned. The first step toward such predictions and plans is to characterize and classify the cultures. Is one side fatalistic and hungry while the other side is pluralistic and rash? Should the game plan of this football team emphasize offense or defense, rushing or passing? To predict and to plan we begin by organizing relevant features into taxonomies.

INADEQUATE TAXONOMIES

There are many kinds of taxonomies, but most of them are not fruitful in predicting and planning intercultural communication. A brief look at four of those that are inadequate for these purposes will reveal more clearly the kind of taxonomy needed.

First, there are the evolutionary classifications of cultures. Stages like those of Lewis Henry Morgan — savagery, barbarism, and civilization — are often implicitly invoked in accounts of communication between world powers and the so called emerging countries. The powers have evolved while the emergers are still at an earlier stage of development. Whatever else may be said about such evolutionary classifications and scales,[2] they are not designed to predict the product mix when two different cultures interact. They are not transactional taxonomies that point to the results of meetings between, say, agriculturalists in a stage of barbarism and hunters and gatherers in a stage of savagery. This paper proposes that for its purpose the relevant features of any one culture are not its own stages of development, but its past and present interactions with other cultures.

A second kind of taxonomy that is not fruitful for present purposes is the geographical classification of cultures. This approach may be based on anthropological conceptions of culture areas but it is often mixed and even polluted with political, racial, linguistic and other concepts. Even culturally, however, there are difficult practical problems of determining which cultures belong together. Does Haiti belong with West Africa, and Madagascar with Indonesia? For the Japanese as oil importers, the Venezuelans and the Iranians may have more in common than the Venezuelans and the Colombians. Should the Koreans be grouped with the Chinese, or with the Japanese? How many culture areas are we to have? Above all, the most important problem is that these classifications are not relevant to predicting and planning intercultural communication. The relevant features of the peoples of the world are their transactions with other peoples.

A third kind of taxonomy is psychological. There are many psychological typologies of cultures, such as Benedict's Dionysian and Apollonian.[3] These typologies have generally been used to characterize individual cultures, rather than cultures in interaction. These categories are generally applicable to only a few cultures rather than being a general taxonomy.

Besides these evolutionary, geographical, and psychological taxonomies, there is the ubiquitous taxonomy of uniqueness. The French are simply the French. This approach characterizes each culture in a particular and specific way and looks to no relevant features of wider application to other cultures. This is in fact an anti-taxonomic approach. It does not facilitate the development of specific generalizations and predictions.

VECTORS AND MATRICES

This paper proposes a non-traditional approach to taxonomies for predicting and planning intercultural communication. This approach is based on vectors and matrices of relevant features.

When two or more different groups of people communicate, it leads to culture change. These changes differ from time to time and from place to place. There are differences in the amounts of change, in the rates of change, and in the directions of change. These differences are vectors.

Traditionally a vector is a magnitude that has direction, like ten degrees colder or ten feet up. As such, a vector is an expression of displacement. When a ship sails five miles north, it is displaced from p_1 to p_2. This can be expressed geometrically as a line on a plane, or algebraically as an ordered set of numbers, the coordinates of p_1 and p_2.

With foreign contact, a culture is displaced a certain amount and in a certain direction. It may become somewhat Americanized (amount and direction), or very dependent (amount and direction). There are, of course, many amounts and directions (vectors) in a culture contact system. Vectors of this kind can provide a more dynamic system of classification than the more traditional approaches. These kinds of vectors also provide a system of analysis and classification that is more useful and significant in anticipating the product mix of intercultural interactions.

A set of vectors can be arranged in a table or matrix. By common usage the horizontal rows of such a matrix are entities, such as different cultures, football teams, or automobiles. The vertical columns are variables, or for present purposes, relevant features. Observations of cultures and relevant features can be arranged in a data matrix. When certain operations are applied to data matrices they yield derived matrices. In this way, known relevant features can yield or predict unknown ones.[4]

To develop this approach concretely, let me draw on several years of work in and on Micronesia more than twenty-five years ago. I will select six relevant features for nine cultures of the Pacific. I will arrange the relevant features in vectors of rows and columns. This will generate a matrix of vectors, of ordered sets of numbers, indicating the magnitude and direction of culture change. Data from the past can really test the making of predictions.

Total Amount of Foreign Contact

The first feature is the total amount of foreign contact that an island culture has had. This variable can be measured objectively in terms of man-years that foreigners have spent in the island culture and the number of man-years that Islanders have spent abroad.

The number of man-years is, of course, a crude and gross variable. A man-year is not a constant unit in its effect on acculturation. During a single year of World War II, American troops spent more than a hundred thousand man-years in the Marianas. During a single year before World War I, the Germans spent only a few hundred man-years in the Marianas. Yet a single German man-year may be equivalent to a great many G.I. man-years.

Although man-years provide an initial measure of total foreign contact, it requires significant correction. In comparing two different cultures, their total amounts of foreign contact should be pro-rated on a per capita basis. Moreover, the degree of acculturation and the total amount of foreign contact covary directly but not linearly. Acculturation progresses along a "J" curve building up cumulatively on all previous contacts.[5] Furthermore, there are different reasons for total contact. For example, contact varies with the location of a culture along the routes of communication that facilitate contact. Singapore on the crossroads of international trade and travel has more contact than Easter Island. Total foreign contact also varies with the total population of an area and with the geographical distribution of its people. Singapore has millions of people packed cheek by jowl, while Micronesia has only tens of thousands sprinkled over a vast area of water. Nevertheless, one relevant feature, which can be measured in weighted number of man-years, is total amount of foreign contact.

Specific Foreign Contact

A second relevant feature is the amount of contact that an island people have had with a specific foreign culture. For example, it affects acculturation greatly that the Marshallese had more of their foreign contact with Americans, the Chamorros more with the Spanish, and the Palauans more with the Japanese. The amount of contact with specific foreign cultures may be measured, like total foreign contact, in weighted units of man-years. Naturally, one raw man-year which has not been weighted, processed, and cooked is not a constant and not equivalent to another man-year.

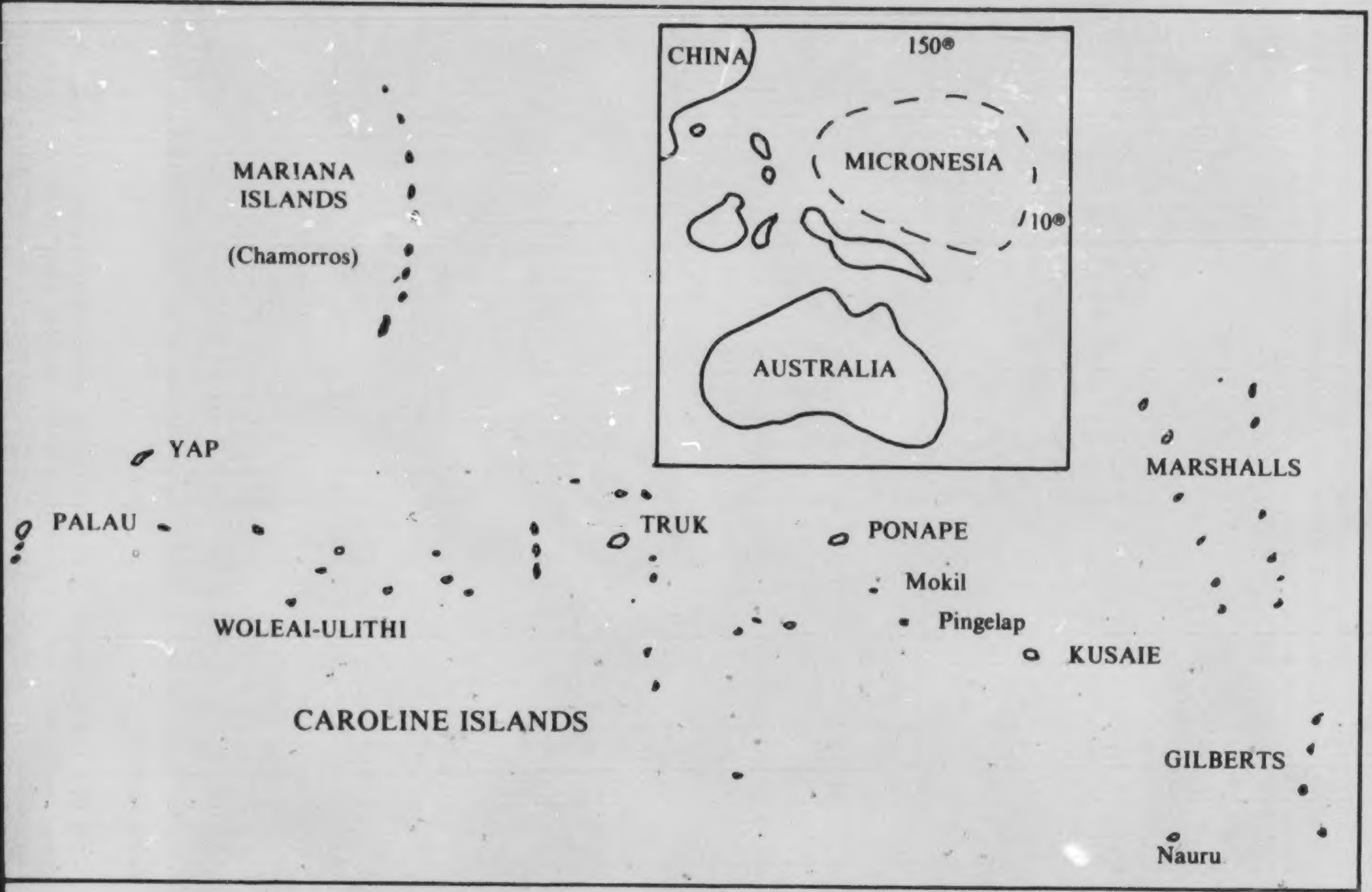
Degree of Isomorphism

The third relevant feature is the degree if isomorphism between the social organization of one culture and another in intercultural communication. In an interaction, a receiver cannot be understood without considering the relation to the sender. One basic relationship is the degree of similarity in the social structure of the communicators. For example, the modern industrial societies and institutions with which native cultures come into contact are largely administrative bureaucracies. They consist of many widespread and similar units of operation supervised by successively decreasing numbers of more centralized units of management toward the top of the pyramid. Different cultures have different degrees of isomorphism or congruence with this industrial pattern. This isomorphism, particularly of the power structure and of the kinds of units of control, differs among cultures and it has corresponding effects on intercultural communication.

Fortes and Evens-Pritchard called this the political system, although it is a part of social organization. They found that native African political systems were either central-

FIGURE 1

MICRONESIA



ized or segmentary in their power structure.[6] That is, there is a bi-modal distribution in types of African political systems: the machinery of government and the lines of authority of some tribes converge in a single overall leader or institution, while other tribes do not have such a hierarchical and centralized political structure and operate instead with independent and parallel units of control.

There is a comparable difference in Micronesia. The Woleai-Ulithi area in the Central Carolines has a social organization that is largely based on local autonomy. There is little pyramiding of authority throughout the area as a whole, or even on atolls as a whole. The important chiefs are the local ones. In the Ponape area of the Eastern Carolines, particularly on Mokil and Pingelap, the political and territorial organization is more centralized and consolidated. Here the organization pyramids to paramount chiefs. Thus, a Western school system or a communication network takes root more rapidly on Pingelap which has centralization than on Woleai which has localization. School systems, communication networks, and other industrial institutions require an administrative organization that involves consolidation and bureaucratic hierarchies. Pingelap has more of this kind of social structure than has Woleai. This is comparable to a hypothesis Fallers proposed for the Bantu: ". . . societies with hierarchical, centralized political systems incorporate the Western type of civil service structure with less strain and instability than do societies having other types of political systems, e.g. segmentary ones."[7]

Naturally, these things change. At one time, for example, the Palaus were far more unified in their organization than they are now.[8] Thus the degree of isomorphism between the social organization of two cultures also changes. It is important to distinguish these degrees at different periods.

Degree of Cohesion

A fourth relevant feature is the degree of cohesion that a culture retains in the face of these contacts. The third feature involved social organization, while this one of cohesion involves social disorganization. In the Palaus of western Micronesia, particularly in the early 1950's, foreign contacts had been so extensive and contradictory that native social cohesion had broken down. If in the Palaus some American institutions did not take root readily, it was in part an effect of social disorganization. If they did not take root so easily in neighboring Woleai-Ulithi, it was in part an effect of social organization. They were not centralized politically or consolidated territorially. In general, a loss of cohesion in a culture due to foreign contacts is easier to detect in a culture that has a centralized form of social organization. The extent to which a culture remains a corporate entity while it is acculturating can be distinguished, however, from its isomorphism to the dominant culture. It can also be distinguished from self-sufficiency.

Self-sufficiency

The fifth relevant feature is the retention of native self-sufficiency. Although this is related to the retention of cohesion, it is not identical with it. In Micronesia, the Chamorros had lost much of their self-sufficiency, but not so much of their cohesion. They were dependent on imports, which is the most important measure of self-sufficiency, but they maintained their social and political corporateness and identity. The Palauans, on the other hand, had lost much of both their self-sufficiency and their cohesion, while the Yapese had lost little of either. In short, we can distinguish self-sufficiency from the other features. If all these variables were independent, we might maintain that the degree of acculturation varies inversely with self-sufficiency. It is also probable that when two cultures interact they both lose self-sufficiency, though probably not equally, nor linearly. The one with the lesser previous foreign contact probably loses more self-sufficiency more rapidly. In all, self-sufficiency is measured as the proportion of imported goods to local goods. These goods can be pots and pans; they can also be television programs, computer programs, school books, and other communication merchandise and software.

The Outlook for Change

The sixth relevant feature, and the final one for this paper, is how open a people are to change and whether their desire for change is commensurate with prevailing opportunities and conditions. The outlook for change, like each of the other five relevant features, may be a complex of characterizations. It may be a genus that has many subordinate species in the taxonomy, species like openness and commensurateness.

Some people are open to change, acculturation, or transculturation, while other people have little desire for change. In Micronesia more than twenty-five years ago, the Chamorros wanted television, supermarkets, universities, and major league baseball. They wanted more than it seemed possible to get. On the other hand, the Woleai-Ulithi people probably wanted less than could be provided by local possibilities. There are risks both ways, in wanting too much and wanting too little. Those avid for change and those who are cool-at-best toward it can be exploited and played upon.

The outlook for change is co-variant with the retention of self-sufficiency, but these two are also different features. They are measured quite differently. Desire is most often measured by questionnaires administered to the people or by other tests, while self-sufficiency is a ratio of imports to domestic production. The outlook for change clearly influences both the degree and the direction of change with intercultural communication.

VECTORS

These six features are not yet vectors, for a vector is a set of two or more numbers. One such set of numbers is a magnitude that has direction: three hundred miles an hour going ninety degrees east, and descending a hundred feet a minute. Such a fector is a displacement from p_1 to p_2. It is a matter of degree and direction. In this sense, total foreign contact is a matter of degree, while specific foreign contact is a matter of direction. These two relevant features are components of a single vector.

More generally, a vector is any number pair or number triple or number quadruple, even if it does not represent magnitude and direction. Social cohesion and social organization, for example, may form a pair of numbers and become a vector in this more general sense. Similarly, the outlook for change and the retention of self-sufficiency form a vector, even if one of the numbers is zero, that is, when there is no desire for change. Such unit vectors, as they are called, are a special case but can generally be treated like any other vectors.

Any vector can be the sum of several other vectors. When a ship sails five miles north, and then sails another five miles north, the sum of these two vectors is the vector ten miles north. There is also a sum when the ship sails five miles north as before, but then sails five miles east. That sum is, of course, not a matter of first grade addition. Any of the six relevant features outlined for Micronesia could be resultant vectors, although they were not presented or analyzed in that way. The outlook for change, for example, may be a vector of both openness to change and commensurateness with opportunities. It may be the sum of several vectors.

Addition is only one of the possible relations between vectors. They can be multiplied, rotated, and subjected to many operations. The operation which should be used in any specific situation of predicting and planning intercultural communication is empirically determinable. For example, if there is a vector for the Chamorros representing a great deal of desire for change in the direction of Western capitalism and consumerism, and there is another vector for them representing low isomorphism in social organization with capitalistic consumer societies, do these two vectors reinforce each other? Should they be added, or multiplied? Or do they offset each other and be subject to some other operation, perhaps subtraction? The use of one operation rather than another is not governed by algebra, rationality, or logic. It is derived from observation and measurement, computation and detection. The relevance of an operation is determined empirically, and probabilistically.

MATRICES

For our purposes the vectors above are quite standard, but the matrices below are somewhat special. A vector is a set of numbers, and a matrix is a set of vectors. A standard form of matrix has horizontal rows that represent entities such as Palau, Truk, and Ponape. In standard form, the vertical columns represent variables such as total foreign contact, degree of cohesion, and desire for change. Such a matrix neither meets our purpose nor is consistent with our vectors.

A standard matrix is merely a box score. Each culture is like a baseball player. Opposite each name — Mays and Mantle, or Truk and Palau — is the number of hits and times at bat, or man-years and import ratios. Such a matrix is merely a storage and retrieval system. At best, it arranges information and gets it all neat and tidy. In such a storage and retrieval box, the output is the same as the input. It is a redundancy machine.

A box score is not totally useless as a matrix for intercultural communication, but it leaves one to navigate by the feel of the seat of his pants and not by taking bearings and laying a course. It leaves prediction and planning to ad hoc guesswork and not to a growing scientific expertise. The information that the Chamorros had considerably more foreign contact than the people of Woleai-Ulithi might lead an American to think he could approach the Chamorros more directly, while the Woleai-Ulithians might be approached less directly, through traditional chiefs and other traditional channels. Such "mights" and inferences are just situational hunches rather than systematic, rigorous, and cumulative knowledge. They are based only on a box score for the other side and ignore the box score for America. The only output they consider is the results they want rather than the total product mix. They do not consider the processes or operations by which the boxscore is transformed into a plan.

For predicting and planning intercultural communication, we need matrices that can interact with one another through various kinds of operations and which will then yield new outputs. This means each culture is more than an entity and a row in a single common box score. Each culture has its own data matrix. The rows and columns of that matrix are vectors that show the degree and direction of culture changes of that culture. They may also be vectors of other sets of numbers, including rankings, that show other past and present interactions with other cultures. There are many ways in which a vector can interact with other vectors of the same culture and with vectors of another culture. Whole matrices can also interact as represented by addition, multiplication, rotation, and other processes.

A matrix, like a vector, states complicated relations in a relatively simple way. It can state the interaction of the relevant features of a culture, and show the pattern or system of that culture. These matrices can also show the product mix of two interacting cultures. Although these matrices may be reducible to sets of box scores, it is only at this matrix level that we can see how two cultures engage each other.

TAXONOMIES FOR PREDICTION AND PLANNING

Taxonomies are frameworks and organizations of experience. They group different individual cases together by what they have in common. This sorting and grouping, arranging and structuring gives order and meaning to experience. Most of our taxonomies are very simple: a botanical system of algae, fungi, and ferns; a university system of liberal arts, engineering, and social work. Nevertheless, taxonomies need to be as complex as the fields and phenomena they delineate. They have to have requisite variety. Taxonomies in intercultural communication cannot deal with merely isolated features of any one culture. In intercultural communication, one complex of features interacts with another complex of features, and the product is generally some kind of pluralism, a highly variable federation of separate but interacting groups of features. This has often been too complex for simple taxonomizing.[9] The necessary complexity may involve n-dimensions, and it may also involve different taxonomies for different purposes. One purpose is translating from the coding system of one language into that of another, a thesaurus of different classifications of the events of everyday life.[10] Another purpose is predicting and planning intercultural communication. Such a taxonomy is initiated in this paper. It has to be dynamic and not a static set of pigeon-holes used for storage and retrieval. It has to be more than a simple classification of cultures — African, industrial, or Apolline — and approximate instead the interactions and transformations of a complex process.

This calls for greater technological resources than studies of intercultural communication usually use. Today these studies generally avoid mathematical models, even statistics, often with the demurrer that it is difficult to get cross-cultural comparability of categories and measures.[11] Yet, mathematics can deal with great complexities in changing systems, and it is not limited to dealing with hard quantities. The taxonomy initiated here is one of vectors and matrices. These enable us to deal with complex sets of variables and relationships. They provide a means for predicting the product mix.

The specific vectors suggested here may be unique for Micronesia, but that is not likely. The use of data from the past in developing a method of predicting should provide a good test of that method. The use of vectors and matrices can be extended widely. It can enable us to solve whole new orders of problems. When, for example, is equilibrium established in the interaction among three cultures? Which cultures are more able to federate, and which less?

NOTES

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[3] Alfred G. Smith, "The Dionysian Innovation," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), 251-65.

[4] Paul Horst, *Matrix Algebra for Social Scientists* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); A. G. Hammer, *Elementary Matrix Algebra for Psychologists and Social Scientists* (Rushcutters Bay, NSW, Australia: Pergamon, 1971).

[5] Alfred G. Smith, "Communication and Intercultural Conflict," in *Perspectives on Communication*, ed. Carl E. Larsen and Frank E. X. Dance (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee, 1968), pp. 166-73.

[6] M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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[8] Roland W. Force, *Leadership and Cultural Change in Palau*, Fieldiana: Anthropology, No. 50 (Chicago: Natural History Museum, 1960).

[9] Alfred G. Smith, "Communication in Pluralistic Systems," in *Readings in Intercultural Communication II*, ed. David S. Hoopes (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Regional Council for International Education, 1973).

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[11] Alfred G. Smith, "Research and Theory in Intercultural Communication," in *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research, Volume I: Theory*, ed. David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen, and George W. Renwick (Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977), pp. 3-8.

A SYSTEMATIC FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

L. E. SARBAUGH

This article presents a systematic conceptualization for understanding and analyzing intercultural communication. It poses the question of the difference between intercultural communication and intracultural communication. It then presents a taxonomy for categorizing "interculturalness" of communication transactions. Heterogeneity-homogeneity of participants is taken as the main discriminator between intercultural and intracultural communication. It proposes establishing levels of interculturalness rather than thinking of intercultural and intracultural as discrete categories of communication. Four sets of variables are presented for use in establishing the levels of interculturalness. The taxonomy developed presents a systematic plan for combining the values of these variables to produce seven levels of interculturalness. The levels presented are offered as a manageable start for establishing a method of categorizing communication events by their level of interculturalness. The article also presents a brief description of a study which is currently being conducted to test the workability of the framework in establishing the level of homogeneity-heterogeneity on two of the sets of variables in the framework. The article concludes with some directions for future research suggested by the conceptual framework presented here.

There has been a tendency to speak and write of inter- and intra-cultural communication as though they were dichotomous categories. Indeed one may do that; however, it limits study and practice of communication to do so. Thinking of communication as occurring along a continuum of interculturalness ranging from highly intracultural to highly intercultural could increase the precision of our study and practice. Such a continuum would not necessarily match national boundaries.[1] I likely would find it easier to communicate with teachers from other parts of the world than with residents of one of the "inner city slums" in the USA.

Whether using the dichotomous view or the levels of interculturalness view, one still faces the basic question as to the difference between what is labeled intercultural and what is labeled intracultural communication. The main difference seems to be in the homogeneity-heterogeneity of the participants in the communication event. If that position is accepted, then the next critical question becomes: For what characteristics of the participants is the homogeneity-heterogeneity (similarity-difference) most critical in explaining and predicting communication behaviors and outcomes?

In some prior writing on this topic, I have presented in some detail a set of variables I believe are important in responding to that question.[2] I have combined them into a taxonomic scheme which provides one way of establishing levels of interculturalness. It is a scheme which frees us of what has been a common pattern of using differing national background and residence as the criterion for categorizing a communication event as intercultural or non-intercultural. The justification for a taxonomy, its components and structure, and some potential uses will be summarized in the following pages.

The framework for the system of categorizing interculturalness was suggested by the taxonomies of the botanists, entomologists and zoologists. They have an extremely large number of individual species with which to deal, and they have converted this into a manageable system through rigorous clustering of those species to certain systematically recurring characteristics. Principles of propagation, growth, and control can then be developed which fit each given cluster within the taxonomic system. For example, one set of practices is appropriate for grasses, while a different set of practices is required for legumes.

In communication, we too have a vast number of different kinds of communicative acts occurring in different kinds of situations. If we choose to look at this just in regard to the question of interculturalness of the communication, the question becomes: What are the distinguishing characteristics for various levels of interculturalness? As indicated earlier, the focus will be on the homogeneity-heterogeneity of the participants.

Communication in which the participants are highly homogeneous would be considered at the intracultural end of a continuum, and those which are highly heterogeneous would be at the intercultural end. Homogeneity and heterogeneity have been consciously used here instead of homophily and heterophily from the diffusion literature, since some different behaviors and characteristics are intended in building the system for intercultural communication.[3]

Culture, as used here, is a synthesis from several sources.[4] It encompasses psychological, sociological, and technological aspects. It is all that one inherits from one's ancestors. It is the common sets of beliefs, behaviors and artifacts within and outside that group. It is continually changing, sometimes quickly and visibly, sometimes slowly and inperceptibly as a result of transactions within and outside one's social group and through one's singular experiences and reflections which are then shared with others.

Communication, as defined here, is the process of using signs and symbols to elicit meanings in another person or persons. It may be intentional or unintentional, but it has occurred when one person assigns meaning to the verbal or nonverbal act of another. Also, considering communication as *transaction* will emphasize the concurrent, as well as the sequential exchange of code elements among the participants.

ESTABLISHING A TAXONOMY OF INTERCULTURALNESS

In establishing a communication taxonomy to guide the study and practice of intercultural communication, one may first identify the universals among persons throughout the world, as well as the differences. Among the universal experiences are birth, growth, death, and other natural phenomena such as the sun, moon, stars, heat, cold, food, water, shelter, etc. It is not surprising that these become common topics of conversation.

What are the differences among persons throughout the world? One that quickly comes to mind in any consideration of intercultural communication is language or code system. Language may be either verbal, nonverbal, or both. We seek to overcome the limitations set by language by using translators. However, we recognize that conceptualizations vary among persons using different languages and the translation may still leave great divergence in the meanings elicited in the persons of the different language groups.[5] We then say that translations alone cannot bridge "cultural" differences.

That leaves the question as to what are these critical "cultural" differences and how can they be bridged? For the taxonomy presented in this paper, besides language or code system, three additional sets of characteristics were used. One of these is the set of normative patterns of belief and overt behavior.[6] A second, also in the belief realm, is one's Weltanschauung or world view.[7] A third cluster, which may be affected by the first two is what one participant (or group) perceives to be the relationship and intent of the other participant (or group) within the transaction.[8]

The taxonomy is based on the assumption that it is the composite heterogeneity-homogeneity across all variable sets that is most useful in predicting communication outcomes. One question which the taxonomy suggests for investigation is the relative contribution to communication outcomes of each set of variables.

The next few pages will outline the way of viewing homogeneity-heterogeneity within each of the variable sets, then present the taxonomic scheme for combining these four sets into one system to establish composite levels of interculturalness. To reduce the complexity of the construction and presentation, two ends of the posited continuum will be used with the *world view* and the *perceived relationship and intent* variables. For the other two variable sets, *code system* and *normative patterns of belief and overt behavior*, the two ends plus an intermediate level will be used in the final scheme.

Admittedly, this approach lacks precision of measurement. However, it may be more precise than the judgments which participants in an intercultural communication act make in practice. Participants in a communicative act may have an illusion of precision of judgments which is not justified.

With the composite set of categories of homogeneity-heterogeneity, it seems that more precision has been attained than is obtained by categorizing participants by geographic or ethnic origin, a pattern of stereotyping many persons resort to on many occasions. It may be that the heuristic value of the taxonomy will be greater than its contribution as a precise analytic tool. The use for hypothesis testing will depend on the ability of scholars to develop precise and operationally feasible systems for measuring differences within the variable sets.

Code System

The highest level of homogeneity on the *code system* variable occurs when the participants share a common code system, both verbal and nonverbal. The highest level of heterogeneity exists when they do not share any code elements. One kind of intermediate level is where one participant is bilingual and the other is monolingual and has the same code system as one of the code systems of the bilingual. The assumption here is that the bilingualism of the one participant carries with it some different ways of structuring reality, hence indicates some lowering of the efficiency of their communication. Efficiency of communication is used here to indicate the effectiveness of achieving intended outcomes per unit of input.

This aspect of the language variable in intercultural communication is an obvious one. Those who have been involved in communication across language boundaries have had to cope with it. In the construction of the taxonomy, the three different conditions of sharing a common language, noted in the preceding paragraph, were used — CS_1 (share the same code system); CS_2 (one party is bilingual and shares one code with the other participant in the transaction); CS_3 (the participants do not share any code element).

Note that here and elsewhere a subscript of *one* used with an abbreviation (CS_1) represents the highest level of homogeneity. As the subscript for any variable increases, the heterogeneity referred to is increasing until the largest subscript represents the highest level of heterogeneity. Thus, in the present illustration, CS_1 is most homogeneous and CS_3 is most heterogeneous.

Normative Patterns of Belief and Overt Behavior

Prominent among the participants' *normative patterns of belief and overt behavior* are their values and role expectations. One may approach the determination of similarity-dissimilarity (homogeneity-heterogeneity) by comparing the participants' beliefs (and overt acts) about what one "must do," "ought to do," "may do," "ought not do," "must not do."

For the normative patterns of belief and overt behavior, the levels of similarity-dissimilarity are established by mapping the combinations of *knowing* (K) and *accepting* (A) of these patterns among the participants. The highest level of similarity would be that each *knows* and each *accepts* the normative patterns of belief and overt behaviors of the other. The highest level of dissimilarity for two participants is where neither knows the normative patterns of belief and overt behaviors of the other, and if they did know, they would not accept them.

Building combinations of "normative patterns of belief and overt behavior" variable to show levels of similarity and difference quickly brings into focus the complexity of the phenomena with which one deals in communication. Using only two participants and the two dichotomies of knowing (K) and not knowing ($\bar{K}$); and of accepting (A) and not accepting ($\bar{A}$), there are 16 possible combinations of knowing-accepting of the normative patterns of belief and overt behaviors of the other. Six of these 16 possible combinations are mirror images of another in the set, thus there are 10 unduplicated combinations. This ignores that there are levels of knowing and accepting in each situation.

To simplify the construction of the taxonomy at this stage of development, three levels of the combinations of the dichotomies of knowing and accepting for a dyad were used:

Level 1 (KA_1) Most homogeneous.

a. Both participants know and both accept the normative patterns of beliefs and overt behavior of the other.	$KA:KA$
b. One knows and accepts, the other doesn't know but would accept if known.	$KA:\bar{K}A$
c. Neither knows the normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors of the other but would accept if they did know.	$\bar{K}A:\bar{K}A$

Level 2 (KA_2) Middle level of homogeneity-heterogeneity on this variable.

a. One knows and accepts, the other knows but doesn't accept.	$KA:K\bar{A}$
b. One knows and doesn't accept, while the other doesn't know but would accept.	$K\bar{A}:\bar{K}A$
c. Both know but neither accepts the patterns of belief and overt behaviors of the other.	$K\bar{A}:K\bar{A}$

Level 3 (KA_3) Most heterogeneous.

a. One participant knows and accepts the patterns of belief and overt behaviors of the other, but the other neither knows nor would accept the beliefs and overt behaviors of the first.	$KA:\overline{KA}$
b. One neither knows nor would accept, the other doesn't know but would accept.	$\overline{KA}:\bar{K}A$
c. One neither knows nor would accept, the other knows but doesn't accept.	$\overline{KA}:K\bar{A}$
d. Neither knows, nor would accept the patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors of the other	$\overline{KA}:\overline{KA}$

An assumption on which the above ordering is based is that communication difficulties arising from not knowing are more easily resolved than those stemming from not accepting. One complicating element in such an assumption is the tolerance each participant has for different beliefs and behaviors of the other. It should be recognized that high tolerance can be a critical shared norm, a crucial component of homogeneity.

World View

The homogeneity-heterogeneity of *world view* may be determined by comparing the participants' beliefs as to the nature of life (NL), purpose of life (PL) and relations of "man" to the cosmos "RMC". Participants might have similar beliefs on all three dimensions of world view, or they might differ on all three, be similar on two dimensions but not the third, and so on. A mapping scheme for establishing levels of similarity-dissimilarity or world view of the participants has been developed.

Level 1 Participants are similar on all dimensions.

$NL_1 \quad RMC_1 \quad PL_1$

Level 2 Participants are similar on two of the three dimensions.

$NL_1PL_1RMC_2 \quad NL_1PL_2RMC_1 \quad NL_2PL_1RMC_1$

Level 3 Participants are similar on one of the three dimensions.

$NL_1PL_2RMC_2 \quad NL_2PL_1RMC_2 \quad NL_2PL_2RMC_1$

Level 4 Participants differ on all three dimensions.

$NL_2PL_2RMC_2$

As with the other variables, it will be noted that the ends of the similarity-dissimilarity continuum have been used to establish the pattern for the taxonomy. This is to avoid having a system that generates so many combinations as to be unmanageable at this stage.

Level 1 above, *most homogeneous*, is referred to as WV^1 in the taxonomy; while Level 4 above, *most heterogeneous*, is referred to as WV_2 in the taxonomy.

The three sets of characteristics discussed thus far are presumed to be relatively stable. While they may change over time, that change is not likely to shift in the course of a given transaction and probably not in any short time span. This may not be the case with the fourth set of characteristics — the perception of the intent of the other participant(s) and the perception of the relationship among the participants.

Perceived Relationship and Intent

Perceived intent (PI) is ordered along a continuum from sharing and helping (PI_1), to ignoring (PI_2), to disrupting and injuring (PI_3). A sharing and helping intent (PI_1) is considered most facilitative of effective communication, while the disrupting-injuring intent (PI_3) is considered most likely to contribute to ineffective communication, if indeed a transaction is even initiated.

Perceived relationship (PR) is described as having three dimensions — positiveness-negativeness of feelings toward one another, compatibility of goals, and hierarchicalness of the relationship. Positive feelings toward one another, shared goal, and seeing one another as equals rather than superior-subordinate is considered the homogeneous end of the classification (PR_1) and the perceived relationship presumed to provide for the most efficient communication. Conversely, negative feelings toward one another, conflicting goals and a perception of one being in a position of dominating the other would result in a perceived relationship (PR_2) at the heterogeneous end of the continuum with the transaction likely to have low efficiency, if it is even initiated.[9] A matrix is used to map these two sets — intent and relationship — into one set, ordered from homogeneous to heterogeneous. This is done to reduce the number of variables used in the mapping of the composite levels of interculturalness established in the taxonomy.

With three levels of intent, and four levels of perceived relationship developed as noted earlier, there are 12 possible combinations of perceived relationship and intent. The combination most conducive to efficient communication, the most homogeneous in the model being developed here, is that combination which includes the sharing and helping intent with a level one perceived relationship, i.e. positive feelings, compatible goals, and least hierarchical. That combination is labelled PRI_1 in the taxonomy.

The most heterogeneous combination (PRI_2) is the one where the relationship is perceived as one of negative feeling, conflicting goals, highly hierarchical and with perceived intent of injuring or disrupting. The ten intervening categories can be generated by constructing the remaining combinations of the two sets of variables. Some combinations are expected to be empty sets, e.g., one that includes negative feelings, conflicting goals, and highly hierarchical relationship with a sharing-helping intent. The opposite of that combination also seems highly unlikely, i.e., a positive feeling, shared goals and symmetrical relationship with an injuring or disrupting intent.

LEVELS OF INTERCULTURALNESS

The ends of the continuum of these four sets of variables with an intermediate category for two of them will combine to form the taxonomy by which levels of interculturalness of communication are identified. The categories for each of the four sets with the abbreviations used are as follows:

1. Perceived relationship and intent — PRI_1 most homogeneous
   PRI_2 most heterogeneous
2. Code system — CS_1 most homogeneous
   CS_2 intermediate in homogeneity-heterogeneity
   CS_3 most heterogeneous
3. Knowing and accepting of normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors — KA_1 most homogeneous
   KA_2 intermediate
   KA_3 most heterogeneous
4. World view — WV_1 most homogeneous
   WV_2 most heterogeneous

Those values of the four sets of variables generated 36 combinations for describing participants in a transaction. Adding another value for each variable or adding one more variable rapidly increases the number of combinations. Using only the ends of the continuum for each of four variables produces 16 combinations; with five variables, 32 combinations; and with six variables, 64 combinations. Three values for each of four variables produces 81 combinations, or 243 combinations with five variables, or 729 combinations with six variables. The four variables and values stated above were selected to keep the number of combinations within manageable bounds, while offering a large enough set to explore the potential value of such a model of establishing levels of interculturalness.

Composite levels of interculturalness were established by summing the subscripts of the symbols used for the four sets of variables.[10] With a subscript of one indicating maximum homogeneity on a given variable, the total of four was the most homogeneous combination, level one, hence the most intracultural set of participants. The following will illustrate the construction of the taxonomy and the levels:

PRI_1 CS_1 KA_1 WV_1 Level 1 (intracultural end) subscripts total 4
PRI_1 CS_2 KA_2 WV_2 Level 4 (intermediate level) subscripts total 7
PRI_1 CS_3 KA_2 WV_1 " " " " " " "
PR_2 CS_3 KA_3 WV_2 Level 7 (intercultural end) subscripts total 10

In the taxonomy as developed, level 7 was the most heterogeneous, hence the most intercultural of all the sets. Developing the levels in this fashion assumes that all of the four variable sets should be weighted equally in their influence on communication outcomes. That may or may not be the case, and is one of the issues which the taxonomy brings into focus.

THE TAXONOMY'S HEURISTIC VALUE

At this stage, the taxonomy of levels of interculturalness seems likely to have more heuristic value than explanatory or predictive power. The basis for establishing levels of heterogeneity within the four sets of variables will have to be made more precise to increase the predictive power of the taxonomy.

In the code system variable, for example, the levels used were those which are described easily and quite functional. It recognizes the need for an intermediary (translator) when the participants do not share a common code system. The importance of having a translator who is bicultural, as well as bilingual, is generally recognized if one desires the highest possible fidelity of translation.

Given that the participants do not share a common code system, one may ask how different the code systems are and how this influences the fidelity of the transaction. What is the relative precision with which each of the code systems can express differences in affective and cognitive responses relevant to the transaction? What is the potential within the two code systems for dealing with abstract concepts and relationships? What is the relative redundancy within each of the two code systems? What is the size of lexicon and how does it affect the potential content of the transaction? The translation task may be vastly different when the code systems differ on the above dimensions than when the code systems are similar on those dimensions.

One of the tasks to advance the conceptualizing and theorizing about intercultural communication, is to continue the search for, and the study and refinement of conceptualizing those differences that make a difference in outcomes of transactions. Anthropologists and scholars in other disciplines have amassed great numbers of descriptions of behaviors (including communicative styles) of many "cultures" throughout the world. The accumulation of these descriptions continues along with the concommitant comparisons of one group with another. These descriptions have provided and will continue to provide useful insights into variables that influence communication outcomes. These descriptions generally reflect some modal set of behaviors for a given group. The cultural boundaries are generally identified as being more or less contiguous with some geographic boundaries of origin of the persons from whom the data are collected. When travel was relatively limited, and prior to mass communication technology, this pattern of cultural boundary setting was quite satisfactory. The persons within a geographic area would have primary contact with others in that area and relatively restricted contact with persons outside the area. With the advent of high speed travel and electronic media, communication boundaries and geographic boundaries have become less and less synonomous. Thus, the use of geographic boundaries to identify cultural boundaries has become less useful and less meaningful.

IDENTIFYING CRITICAL VARIABLES

If one were to attempt to describe all of the vast number of relatively homogeneous groups throughout the world to provide some kind of massive intercultural inventory, the task and the size of the collection would be staggering to the imagination. This suggests the great need to identify those variables which are most critical to effective transactions, and the techniques which are most efficient for the participants to gather the needed information on those key variables for the transactions in which they participate.

Some form of cluster or factor analysis may offer a useful tool for identifying the critical clusters of variables reflected in the accumulated descriptions of communication outcomes among persons of different levels of interculturalness. Some of this type of analysis may be done with existing descriptions; some may require collection of new data, with a plan for sampling the available population of "cultures."

The development of a taxonomy of interculturalness dramatizes the vast number of possible levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity of participants in communication transactions. It makes quite vivid the potential complexity of the communication labeled intercultural. Hopefully, it also provides a system for classifying those situations in a way that makes possible the development of communication principles which will provide higher predictability and efficiency in transactions.

If the taxonomy is to be useful, it should satisfy the following three requirements:

1. Allow for rank ordering participants in a transaction along a continuum of interculturalness.
2. Be suggestive of principles which will increase the efficiency of transactions, especially those at the higher levels of interculturalness.
3. Provide a framework to synthesize existing literature and to guide research to produce cumulative findings to contribute to a general theory of intercultural communication.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDIES

One study to empirically test the viability of the taxonomy has been initiated in a dormitory which houses a high percentage of international students. It is expected that this population will provide a generous supply of different levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity of dyads to use in a communication task where the transactions and the outcomes can be monitored for each of the levels of interculturalness represented. That study will offer an opportunity to check the feasibility of using the taxonomy in describing participants and rank ordering selected pairs of them by levels of interculturalness represented within each dyad. It also will offer an opportunity to test the usefulness of the levels in predicting the nature of transactions between members of the dyad at different levels of interculturalness, and in providing counsel to participants to increase the efficiency of the transaction prior to its initiation.

Focused interviews have been used to collect the data by which to categorize the levels of interculturalness of the participants. Data from the focused interviews were then developed into Q-sort items to facilitate the data collection and the categorizing of participants. Once the participant pairs are classified by levels of interculturalness for the research, they will be given a prescribed communication task to complete. Their communication will be observed and described and the outcomes will be evaluated against predetermined criteria.

A second area of study would be to develop levels of similarity-dissimilarity of code system and test the effect of differing levels on communication efficiency.

It is generally accepted that for communication to be efficient when there are dissimilar code systems, the translators need to be bicultural as well as bilingual. Empirical tests of that proposition could be carried out for given levels of interculturalness of participants. Such tests could help identify the level at which it becomes important for the translator to be bicultural.

Another question to explore is the extent to which the proportion of "must do" and "must not do" (the obligatory beliefs and overt behaviors) to the "ought" and "may" categories influences efficiency of communication for participants of different levels of interculturalness. A further question involving the normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors is: What is the most effective means within a transaction among heterogeneous participants to increase the level of knowing and/or accepting the normative patterns of the other?

A classification and synthesis of the research on the impact of perceived intent and perceived relationships among participants could clarify what is now known, and what further research is needed in this area.

Perhaps these examples will illustrate some of the types of research that will be suggested by the taxonomy. Hopefully, it will provide a systematic framework for consolidating the large volume of materials in the intercultural literature; for developing generalizations about intercultural communication; and for classifying highly diverse types of intercultural transactions for more manageable ways of coping with them in both research and practice.

As an aid to the practice of intercultural communication, the taxonomy can indicate what information one needs about a heterogeneous other at a given level of interculturalness to achieve intended communication outcomes. As research develops in the intercultural area, there may be some opportunity to establish the relative influence of the four sets of variables on communication outcomes, and suggest the most efficient communication moves to achieve outcomes desired by the participants.

NOTES

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[1] Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, *Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1976)* placed cultures along a continuum of differences with the cultures identified by geographic and ethnic labels. A different use of continuum is proposed here.

[2] L. E. Sarbaugh, *Intercultural Communication* (Rochelle Park, New Jersey: Hayden Book Co., 1979).

[3] Everett M. Rogers and Floyd Shoemaker, in *Communication of Innovations* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1971), pp. 14, 214, 240, present homophily and heterphily as general concepts to cover similarities and differences between change agents and those they seek to change, and suggest that these factors influence the adoption of innovations. Their use of these concepts is limited to a somewhat more restricted set of functions and places more emphasis on social status variables than is proposed for homogeneity and heterogeneity as used here.

[4] As with many other social science concepts, there are many definitions and explications of culture in the literature, among these are some similarities and some differences. In reading materials from many sources, I have chosen a conception of culture which I believe synthesizes elements from these definitions.

[5] For a discussion of this point, see the following: Paul Ekman, W. V. Friesen and P. Ellsworth, *Emotion in the Human Face: Guidelines for Research and an Integration of Findings* (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1972); Paul Ekman, "Cross-cultural Studies of Facial Expression," in Paul Ekman, *Darwin and Facial Expression: A Century of Research in Review* (New York: Academic Press, 1973, pp. 169-222); Edward Sapir, "Communications," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931), pp. 78-80; Leslie Spier, "Language as Invention," *Collier's Encyclopedia* 10 (1960), p. 360; Y. Tanaka, T. Oyama, and C. E. Osgood, "A Cross-cultural and Cross-Concept Study of the Generality of Semantic Space" *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior,* 2 (1963), 392-405; Benjamin Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality,* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956).

[6] The basis for this category leads one into the massive accumulation of sociological and social psychological writing on norms and rules. Two pieces of special interest are: Sanford Labovitz, *Introduction to Sociological Concepts,* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977, especially Chapter 1); Richard T. Morris, "A Typology of Norms," *American Sociological Review* 21 (1956), 610-3.

[7] World view or Weltanschauung is discussed from several perspectives in the literature. Warren Wagar in *World Views: A Study in Comparative History,* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1977) deals with it as the conception of the nature of cosmic and human reality that discloses the meaning of life. Robert Redfield, in "The Primitive World View," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 96 (1952), pp. 30-36, sees it as a cognitive set by means of which people perceive relationship between self, others and the cosmos, providing a base for patterning day to day life. Walter Ong in "World as View and World as Event," *American Anthropologist* 71, (1969), pp. 634-47, emphasizes the idiosyncratic aspect of world view, the person's way of organizing data coming from without and from within. Clyde Kluckhohn and F. L. Strodtbeck in

Variations in Value Orientations, (Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson and Co., 1961), present a man-nature, time, being-becoming-doing orientation. I also see the writing of George A. Kelly on a psychology of personal constructs as relevant to this conceptualization o world view: See George A. Kelly, *A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1963) along with the more recent work of Jesse Delia and associates in constructivism. These are a sample of the perspectives which influenced the conceptualization of world view as used in this paper.

[8] More work has been done on perception of relationships than on intent in transactions. Among the writings which were helpful in developing this set of variables were: Dorothy James and Muriel Jongeward, *Born to Win*, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971); H. H. Kelley and J. W. Thibaut, *Interpersonal Relations: A Theory of Interdependence*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978); F. F. Korten, "The Influence of Culture on the Perception of Persons," in Larry A. Samovar and R. E. Porter, *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 124-34.); George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1934); Kenneth L. Villard and Leland J. Whipple, *Beginnings in Relational Communication*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976); P. Watzlawick, J. Beavin and D. Jackson, *Pragmatics of Human Communication*, (New York: Norton and Co., 1967).

[9] The three dimensions of perceived relationship generate eight combinations when one uses the two ends of a similarity-dissimilarity continuum. It follows the same pattern as presented for the three components of *world view* shown earlier. PR_1 and PR_2 referred to in the text are levels one and four in that kind of framework. Level 1 (homogeneity) is positive feelings (F_1), compatible goals (G_1) and least hierarchical (H_1); Level 2 is when two of the three variables are on the homogeneous end and one is at the heterogeneous end (e.g., $F_1G_1H_2$ or $F_1G_2H_1$ or $F_2G_1H_1$); Level 3 is where two of the three variables are at the heterogeneous end and one is on the homogeneous end (e.g., $F_1G_2H_2$); Level 4 is as described in the text with all three variables at the heterogeneous end of the continuum.

[10] This is a brief excerpt of the comprehensive taxonomy developed by the author of this article; see Sarbaugh, pp. 53-61.

CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION IN THE MODERN JAPANESE CORPORATE ORGANIZATION

KE-LU CHAO and WILLIAM I. GORDEN

Today, almost all the world seeks trade with Japan. Hundreds of books and articles report that country's remarkable economic success and attribute this success to unique management practices. So much that we read and hear about the Japanese organization, however, is fragmentary. This essay attempts to discover a consistent and composite picture, by comparing ten of the more complete and recent scholarly discussions of Japanese culture and communication within their corporate organizations. The characteristics which were found to compose a picture of Japanese corporate organizational life are: lifetime employment, a seniority based system, broad fringe benefits and company-based unions. Communication within the Japanese corporate organization abide by the prime norms of harmony and group cooperation. These concerns for harmony are evident in the ambiguities of the Japanese language, the use of face-to-face over written communication, the open-space office setting, the concept of shared leadership and responsibility, and the *ringi* system through which consensus is sought.

A Japanese riddle designed to amuse persons foreign to that country begins with the question: If a businessman in a boat was confronted with his mother, child and wife falling overboard, whom would he save first? First he would save his mother, next his child and last his wife. The answer is not funny or incongruous to Japanese. The order of rescue follows the established mourning period. When one's mother dies the months of mourning are many; after a child's passing, the time of mourning is less and for a wife shorter still. The modern version of the riddle follows a similar pattern but with a twist. If a businessman is in a boat with his wife and mistress who both fall into the ocean, who will he save first? The answer the Japanese suggest is again obvious. He would save his wife first, of course, because his mistress would understand! The subtleties of the value assumptions of a foreign culture, however inscrutible on the surface, are not without reason.

Since the Western overtures of Admiral Perry and American battleships, industry within the Japanese islands has grown until today all the world seeks to trade with this competitor in textiles, steel, electronics, etc. On FORTUNE'S annual list of the 200 largest foreign industrial firms, nearly one out of five is now Japanese.[1] Peter Drucker and a host of others contend that Japanese management operates from a unique set of principles and practices which currently are threatened and in flux, but also eminently worthy of study, if not immediate emulation. Drucker states: "Businessmen in the United States and Europe know Japanese industry as an important supplier, customer, and competitor. But they would also know it as a teacher."[2] Further, Sethi suggests: "The Japanese miracle of economic growth and recovery has been a constant object of envy and amazement in the West . . . A clear understanding of the nature and the underlying rationale of Japanese management practices must be a necessary precondition for any evaluation of their effectiveness in other social systems."[3]

The Japanese system is complex and based on socio-cultural values, rooted in historical traditions and economic/political situations. There is always a danger in oversimplification, and in the assumption that practices of another culture can be transferred to the next. Yet, while history has shown that the people of Japan have been extremely successful in adopting ideas and technology from the West, it is ironic that the reverse may be possible. To what extent can U.S. firms beneficially adopt Japanese management practice into the organization? Before such a practical question might be answered, one must ask preliminary questions: (1) What are the unique cultural characteristics of Japanese management?; and (2) What decision-making processes and communication policies and practices are inherent to the Japanese business organization? Answers to these questions are preliminary to adoption, modification, or rejection by American management of Japanese decision-making and organizational communication policies and practices. Can those concerned that the American corporate community develop more participative management and give greater attention to the quality of work-life, discover valuable lessons in the Japanese way?

So much that we hear about the Japanese way is fragmentary, and therefore, in this essay we shall compare ten scholarly discussions of Japanese organizational life to discover if there might be a consistent picture. From nearly 100 references we examined, we chose for comparison six books and four articles from recent studies accessible in U.S. libraries. They are arranged in alphabetical order:[4]

Author's name	Article or book title	Published date
1. Adams & Kobayashi	*The World of Japanese Business*	1969
2. Ballon	*Doing Business in Japan*	1967
3. Bowen	"Japanese Managers Tell How Their System Works"	1977
4. De Mente	*How to Do Business in Japan*	1972
5. Dore	*British Factory-Japanese Factory*	1973
6. Drucker	"What We Can Learn from Japanese Management"	1971
7. Johnson & Ouchi	"Made in America (under Japanese Management)"	1974
8. Miller	"Management by Omikoshi, Traditional Features of Modern Business in Japan"	1963
9. Sethi	*Japanese Business and Social Conflict*	1975
10. Yoshino	*Japan's Managerial System, Tradition and Innovation*	1968

Compared with other studies, these ten scholarly works provide greater breadth, and more intensive descriptions of the Japanese business organization. In addition, a number of other materials were consulted. Some of them offered useful references and bibliographies,[5] some of them discussed only one or two phenomena of the Japanese organization,[6] and some of them offered background interpretation of organizational behavior.[7]

The first section of this paper addresses general characteristics of Japanese organizational life. The second, and central portion of this essay, compares what is reported concerning the several elements in Japanese communication and decision-making in business organization. A comparative summary of our findings is presented in Table 1.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE ORGANIZATION

Lifetime Employment

In Japan, when a person is first employed, the assumption is that he is employed for life. Loyalty thus springs from mutual individual commitment for one's life and the company's commitment to the individual. Lifetime employment has been well documented in recent studies. Nine of the ten studies in our comparative research report lifetime employment.

The origins of lifetime employment can be traced partly to the traditional ideas of responsibility and partly to the speed of Japan's modernization. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan found it necessary to immediately adopt the technological processes of the West, but educational and training centers could not cope with the demands of burgeoning industry. The alternative was on-the-job training. Workers were hired directly after graduation from school as apprentices and instructed in company techniques. The long apprenticeship in a company makes one thoroughly familiar with the practices and operations of the company by the time a responsible position is achieved. Since the policies and practices vary from place to place, a skilled worker trained in one company would not be as likely qualified in another. Loyalty naturally follows the training of a long apprenticeship to a people who hold a high respect for learning the "correct" way to do almost everything. In addition, lifetime tenure is supported by the Japanese belief in "the firm as one family" *(kigyoikka)*, "familistic management" *(keiei kazokushugi)* and the seniority system *(nenko jo retsuseido)*. Another reason for lifetime employment came in the 1920s when it was difficult for a company to hire employees from another company. To prevent one's employees from being hired away, companies reinforced the value of loyalty by adopting the system of lifetime employment.

Under this system, there is very little or no prospect of changing jobs between companies.

> At whatever level of organization in the Japanese factory, the worker commits himself on entrance to the company for the remainder of his working career. The company will not discharge him even temporarily except in the most extreme circumstances. He will not quit the company for industrial employment elsewhere. He is a member of the company in a way resembling that in which persons are members of families, fraternal organizations, and other intimate and personal groups in the United States.[8]

This observation is as true of the young executive as it is of the low-level employee. The practice of lifetime employment is clearly advantageous for the employer. Low employee turnover means lowered training cost. Also, the system assures the company of a stable work force and virtually guarantees the employee a lifetime job.

The lifetime employment system, however, is not as pervasive in Japanese companies as one might think because it is not applied equally to all workers in the company. Generally, Japanese companies keep about one third of their employees as "key employees." These are guaranteed lifetime employment and seniority based wages. Through a variety of ways, the companies maintain a temporary work force which may be laid-off when a company is pressured by economic conditions. Most women, for example, are considered temporary.

Another factor that makes the lifetime employment system flexible is the retirement policy. The normal retirement age is 55. According to Sethi: "Retirement benefits in the form of pensions are either nonexistent or grossly inadequate when compared to an employee's need, former status, or comparable Western standards. This forces him to seek work in order to survive."[9] Therefore, a permanent employee usually becomes a temporary employee after his retirement, which means that he will do the same work but at a lower wage.

Seniority-based System

A Japanese employee is paid primarily on the basis of his length of service. Age and educational background at entry time are also important. Because of such a policy the wage or salary of a worker is not determined by the nature of his job, the level of his competence or performance. Since most workers are hired upon graduation, years of service are easily calculated by one's age. In a recent year, the average wage of Japanese workers aged 40 to 49 was 1.79 times as much as that for workers aged 20 to 24.[10] In keeping with the cultural respect for older people, the older the worker, the higher his salary. One's position in the organizational hierarchy naturally corresponds to one's seniority. This may be illustrated by looking at the age of those who attended a seminar at Keio University for middle management. Three quarters of the participants were in the 39 to 49 age bracket and the median age was 44, about ten years older than men filling comparable positions in the United States.[11]

However, the seniority-based system, described in all ten sources, is no longer as rigid as it once was. The need for new technicians has caused the wages of young employees to rise more than those of older employees. In addition, most large Japanese firms in recent years have installed a formal appraisal program to regularly evaluate the performance of each employee. According to Ballon, allowances for age and length of service have declined in frequency from 1956 to 1966, while allowances for position, job classification *(shokumukyu)*, and "special work" have increased.[12]

In Japan, respect for seniority is institutionalized in a kind of managerial godfather practice. Every young employee has a godfather within his firm who is over age 45 and usually is graduated from the same university. The godfather is not his immediate supervisor nor direct superior. Rather, one's godfather, hopefully, will become the top manager of a subsidiary or affiliate company by the time he reaches 55.[13] A godfather may have many employees as his godchildren, but an employee usually has only one godfather.

The godfather is expected to be available to provide advice, counseling, and discipline during his first ten years in the company. Four of the ten sources examined report this practice. Before making a decision about whom to give what task, for instance, someone in the personnel department may consult with several employees' godfathers. A godfather also is expected to intercede at appropriate junctures in the advancement of one's career.

Fringe Benefits

A large portion of an employee's income comes from allowances and benefits rather than direct wages or salaries. For the average employee, an amount equal to more than 50 percent of the monthly pay may come from special allowances for age, family obligation and good attendance.[14] Besides that, there are medical benefits, cafeteria privileges, company housing, etc., and bonuses that usually equal four or five months pay each year. For upper management, fringe benefits may include a car and driver, a vacation house and expense accounts for lavish parties. Of the ten resources, nine describe extensive fringe benefits.

Enterprise-based Union

Identification with one's company is so high that upon introducing oneself, one's company's name is also given. Likely lifetime employment causes workers to identify with the company rather than with a particular skill, a fact that is reflected in union organization. Most of Japanese unions organize on an enterprise-by-enterprise basis. A secretary, a manager and a maintenance man at the same company may belong to the same union.

In a country with predominantly company unions, it is easier to stabilize employer-employee relations. The union itself will not be as independent as those of the West and there may be considerable discrepancy in wages and working conditions between large and small companies. Six out of the ten studies report enterprise-based unions.

In this section we have described four general historically generated and socially approved characteristics which in comparison to other cultures are unique to the Japanese business organization: (1) lifetime employment for those in management and the core of the work force, (2) a system which places great importance upon seniority, (3) a system which provides a wide array of fringe benefits and (4) enterprise-based unions. In the remainder of our study, we shall describe communication practices and decision-making processes which are typical of the Japanese business organization.

COMMUNICATION PRACTICES AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

How does Japanese management function? In what way does it differ from American management practices? A picture of internal communication of the Japanese business organization is not consistently drawn as will be evident upon the examination of Table

1. Communication Tends to be Vague

Japanese tend to express themselves ambiguiously. They hesitate when they have to say "no," and they may say "yes" but mean "no." The Japanese language structure is conducive to ambiguity.[15] Their verbs come at the end of sentences and therefore, one is not able to understand what is being said until the whole sentence is uttered. In addition, the Japanese language is quite loose in logical connection. One can talk for hours without reaching the point. Akira Suzuki, a leading scholar, considers the ambiguity of his country's language as a manifestation of the need to get along with one another.[16] Even in ordinary conversation, Japanese will say *"Ah so, des ne,"* or *"Honto des yo,"* (gratifying response) whereas an American conversation might be more apt to include "No, I don't think so." Intuitive understanding or *haragei*, which can be translated as "belly art or abdominal performance" is more important because, as many Japanese proverbs remind

INCIDENCES OF DESCRIPTION OF GENERAL CULTURAL AND COMMUNICATION PRACTICES IN THE MODERN JAPANESE CORPORATE ORGANIZATION*

Author Characteristic	Adams & Kobayashi	Ballon	Bowen	De Mente	Dore	Drucker	Johnson & Ouchi	Miller	Sethi	Yoshino
Lifetime Employment	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Seniority-based System	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wide Fringe Benefits	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Enterprise-based Union		X		X	X			X	X	X
Ambiguity in Language	X		X				X		X	X
Harmony Emphasized	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X
Ritual Emphasized		X			X		X		X	X
Primary Use of Face-to-Face Communication			X							
Open-spaced Office Setting							X			
Vague Authority & Responsibility	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Group Oriented	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ringi System of Decision-making	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Recent Modification of Ringi		X	X	X	X	X			X	X

*Characteristics are listed in the left column. The sources appear in the top row. Incidence of mention of the characteristic is noted by an "X". Complete bibliographic information on each source is included in the Notes.

one, verbal language is not worthy of trust and in fact is even a dangerous thing.[17] The need for maintenance of harmony and avoidance of conflict carry over into the Japanese business organization, and therefore, Japanese communication practices tend to be vague and general. Half our sources report this phenomenon.

2. Communication Emphasizes Harmony

The emphasis within the organization is often upon the ability of the individual to work cooperatively with his group, rather than upon one's ability to lead or to work as an individual. The concern for group harmony frequently is evident in company mottos. For example, the Hitachi Corporation motto reads: "The spirit of harmony is one which has always been most highly valued in our firm."[18]

In Japan, relationships are very important. Therefore, there is much attention to gift-giving and to politeness. The sense of public consciousness, however, is not so strong. One's responsibility is quite weak to those whom one does not know. For example, a person probably will say *Sumimasen* (Excuse me) upon stepping upon the foot of a stranger on a train, but if it is the foot of a friend or an acquaintance, he definitely will say *Sumimasen*. The cultural concern for harmony in one's relationships, of course, carries over into an individual's behavior within his work organization. Seven of the ten sources report the high value Japanese place upon harmony.

Perhaps the tendency of Japanese to speak with very little gesticulation, and a general sobriety, (not to be confused with restraint when it comes to consumption of alcoholic beverages, for heavy drinking is common) and the value of hard work, order, security, training and good manner, all coalesce into a unique concern of this culture for secure and harmonious relationships.

3. Ritualistic Communication is Important

The Japanese love for ritual may be observed within the Japanese business organization. The Matsushita Electric Company, for example, begins its working day with a hymn to country and company. All the employees assemble to sing:

> For the building of a new Japan
> Let's put our strength and mind together.
> Doing our best to promote production,
> Sending our goods to the people of the world,
> Endlessly and continuously,
> Like water gushing from a fountain,
> Grow, industry, grow, grow, grow!
> Matsushita Electric![19]

At Toyota and many other companies, the day opens with five minutes of supervised calisthenics. Half of our sources report on group rituals such as company motto, song, and physical exercise.

4. The Japanese Businessman Primarily Depends Upon Face-to-Face Communication

When communicating within the business organization, one is expected to start with face-to-face discussion. Not to do so, is to show disrespect. According to Kosuke Miyoshi, a letter is rather sort of a record or conclusion.[20] If one sends a letter to a company, he most probably will not get an answer, but after talking face-to-face, a letter serves as a record or confirmation. The contrary is true in the United States. Only one of our sources, however, mentions this practice as still true in today's Japanese business organization.

5. The Japanese Firm Utilizes Open-Space Offices

In the traditional Japanese home, a large single room serves multiple functions. At night, it is the bedroom, at one time in the day, it is the dining room, and yet another time the living room. This sense of open-space, likewise, is characteristic of Japanese aesthetics expressed in the business organization.

A typical Japanese office is located in a large open area filled with desks and tables. There are only a few private offices for senior executives. In the open-space office, the middle manager usually sits at the head of a long table with his work team seated around it. Each manager thus can easily turn to another manager and discuss a common problem. Consequently, individual conferences in a very real sense are open for others to hear. As one might expect, the open-space office arrangement facilitates calling small group conferences. Individual secrecy and the grapevine are minimized and internal communication is facilitated. One of our sources reports on the Japanese open-space office setting.

6. Communication is Group-Oriented

The Japanese are racially homogeneous and they are extremely group oriented. The anthropologist Ruth Benedict stressed the Japanese denial of individualism in favor of collectivity orientation.[21] Similarly, Fukutake indicates that group membership is considerably more important to the Japanese than to citizens of the United States.[22] In an empirical study of Japanese values, Caudill and Scarr reported strong collectivity orientation in Japan.[23] It is not unusual, for example, for large numbers of newlyweds to enjoy a *group* honeymoon trip, and when Japanese businessmen travel, they most frequently travel in small delegations.[24] Japanese culture lays great stress upon acting properly. The "shame" of the group and "losing face" in the eyes of others holds great control over one's behavior. Consequently, the words "I" and "you" tend to be missing in daily conversation. Group centeredness carries over into the Japanese organization.

Japanese workers wear their firm's uniform. They appear to have less autonomy in the work situation. In a survey which asked whether an employee should work at his own pace, 78 per cent of a British Engineering sample, as compared to ony 25 per cent of the employees at the Hitachi Corporation, said that they preferred to work at their own pace.[25] Japanese employees often cheer each other when changing shifts, like baseball players applauding a team-mate who has just hit a home run.[26] This is yet another instance of the Japanese unique emphasis on the group. One very able executive described the traditional organization in Japan as "Management by Omikoshi."[27] The *omikoshi* is the portable shrine carried on the shoulders of perhaps a dozen men. The fun of it is to carry the shrine, shout "*washoi, washoi*" in unison, and add one's weight to the weight of the other pole carriers. All ten of our sources report the group-oriented character of the Japanese.

7. Leadership and Responsibility are Diffused

Since in Japanese business a task is performed by a group rather than by individuals, responsibility is not located in any one person. The responsibilities of each organizational unit also are defined only in very general and broad terms. Job descriptions are vague. The organizational chart is drawn in terms of divisions rather than departmental heads. For example, "The export department shall take charge of exportation and necessary investigations and negotiations."[28]

There is a tendency to reduce the role of a top manager to a figurative one, even to an ornamental role *(kazarimono)*. Very often, the top executive has grown up with a group, knows its members and has a talent for keeping communication flowing. A manager's primary responsibility in the company is to create a proper atmosphere and to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships. Because there is no clear-cut delineation of individual authority and function, a Japanese leader's power is relatively uncertain and tacit. All ten studies report this characteristic.

8. Decision-making Practices are Consensual

Ringi is composed of two parts: *rin* means that subordinates submit a proposal to their peers and requesting their input and approval, *gi* means deliberation and discussion. A proposal is usually initiated by a lower-level employee when confronted with a problem common in the conduct of day-to-day business. The document drafted is known as a *ringisho*. The *ringisho* states the problem and a suggestion for its solution with reasons for accepting it. The formal *ringisho* must be passed around various divisions and departments to all concerned. Each person receiving the paper places his name-seal on the document as evidence that he has seen and approved it, or he may add a modification. If he disapproves, he will return the document to the initiator for revision of the proposal. After a revision, the initiator may again circulate the document on the same route up through different levels of management to top management, eventually reaching the president. If the president stamps his seal, the *ringisho* is returned to the originator for implementation.

The larger the organization, the more complicated is the decision process because it involves reviewing proposals from dozens of people whose major concerns naturally are their own and those of their division. When a decision to be made is of major importance, the initiator first will consult informally with the parties involved rather than only circulating a formally prepared proposal.[29] In this manner, the initiator will minimize the possible disagreement and conflict which might occur when his document is circulating.

The top executive seldom will disapprove the *ringisho* because the lower-level initiator intuitively will have considered the top executive's viewpoint before writing the formal document.

Ringi is consistent with Japanese culture. The system has definite advantages. Proposals are initiated by those closest to a problem or an area which needs attention. Thus, *ringi* offers lower-level employees a chance to demonstrate their capabilities and also make fresh inputs into a highly-structured and hierarchical organization. Furthermore, by circulating the proposal *(ringisho)*, all those concerned in the firm will become informed, and acquire ownership in the decision-making.

Opponents of the *ringi* mode of decision-making argue that it is too slow for today's rapidly changing technology and markets. They also contend that a lower-level employee lacks a company-wide perspective. He tends to see things in short-range rather than long-range terms. Under *ringi*, authority is diffuse and responsibility ill-defined. Giving one's seal of approval to proposals piled high may become perfunctorily bureaucratic rather than a matter of critical evaluation. Finally, because the system depends upon middle and lower level managers to generate proposals, top managers tend to be followers rather than movers and shapers.

In a few Japanese business organizations, efforts are underway to revise or even to eliminate the consensual system. In them, the *ringi* format has been simplified by reducing the number of individuals who must examine a proposal. Instead of circulating a proposal, companies have the *ringishos* brought to executive meetings. In others, the *ringishos* may be submitted directly to top management in urgent cases. Furthermore, delegation of authority is becoming more common. Although somewhat reformed, the system of *ringi* continues to be in the mainstream of decision-making in today's Japanese organization. Almost all recent studies cited the current use of *ringi*, and seven of these mention modern modifications.

Consensual decision-making also is the norm within a meeting of managers. In a meeting, the Japanese use a method of reaching agreement called *matomari*, or adjustment.[30] Preliminary to discussion, a senior member usually makes an opening statement dealing with factual information pertaining to the issue. A statement may provide hints of a manager's preference, but it does not commit him to a specific idea or course of action. Gradually, the members begin to sense the direction of the group and adjust their own views accordingly. Most commonly, they have worked together long enough to know what are the others' attitudes toward a certain issue. Thus, it is relatively easy to limit the conflict and reach a consensus, if not unanimity. If an argument does emerge, the leader usually suggests a follow-up meeting, or one of the more prestigious members may try to reconcile the two sides. Occasionally, one of the middle or lower status members tries for some sort of comic relief.[31] Together they will work toward a compromise which takes into consideration the desire and feelings of both the majority and minority. However, until approximately 70 per cent of the members are in agreement, minority members may support their own points of view.

The real power is in the hands of the men of influence. There is an "old boy network" in Japanese business. They tend to stay behind the scenes. Informally, they share important information. Usually, before a meeting is held they have reached a decision and a meeting proceeds exactly as was informally planned.

The Japanese economy is directed toward a national goal, and almost everyone feels a sense of participation in it. This may be traceable to the historic and geographic fact that scratching out a living on those mountainous, typhoon-prone islands has been tough and requires a consensual commitment. There is a norm akin to the Protestant ethic. Subordinates greet superiors with *o-iso-gashii-desho,* which translates "You must be in an honorably busy state of affairs."[32] There is a spirit of cartel in spite of the fact that under U.S. occupation the cartels of Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo were broken up. In the seventies, however, the presidents of the 27 Mitsubishi companies meet on Friday every month to plan a common strategy. The 17 Mitsui presidents meet once a month on Thursday and the 17 Sumitomo presidents one Monday per month. The big borrowers have a council, and unusually large bank debts in Western terms are permitted these firms. Engineers from competing firms swap technological ideas.[33] There is a club atmosphere and a consensus building practice which helps the Japanese nation function as one giant corporation.

SUMMARY

The characteristics which compose a picture of Japanese organizational life are, indeed, overlapping and interrelated: lifetime employment, a seniority-based system, wide fringe benefits and enterprise-based unions. The general cultural characteristics in some degree were described in almost all of the scholarly sources which were compared. The nature of communication within the business organization, however, was not so consistently addressed. Internal communication practices of the Japanese business organization abide by the prime norms of harmony and group cooperation. The ambiguities of the Japanese language, the primary use of face-to-face communication, the open-space office setting, and the concept of shared leadership and responsibility are natural extensions of the Japanese central values. The *ringi* system through which consensus is sought in Japanese decision-making, though slightly modified under the fast moving constraints of today's organizational complexities, is still a very common and deep-seated practice.

Japanese management up to now has been able to take advantage of those practices. Whether traditional managerial ideologies and practices may endure is uncertain. Individualism is emerging in a number of ways. Greater clarification of one's job duties and the establishment of individual accountability are beginning to appear. Today's reliance upon technology and complex information systems has shortened the time-span for business decision-making and is forcing the Japanese organization to modify and adopt faster systems. They are changing, but the major characteristics will not be easily replaced.

From this comparison of ten studies dealing with the Japanese industrial and business organization, hopefully, foreign businessmen who trade with the Japanese might gain some measure of intercultural understanding, and perhaps those who are managers and executives in American firms may experiment with some of the alternative approaches to communication and decision-making which are so integral to the Japanese corporate organization. Those of us involved in the research of organizational communication can most certainly benefit from study of the Japanese organization.

NOTES

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EFFECTS OF INSERVICE TRAINING ON TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CULTURAL DIVERSITY

ELIZABETH BERRY and PAUL D. KRIVONOS

This study investigated the effects of inservice training on teachers' attitudes toward cultural pluralism. Teachers in the Los Angeles Unified School District, who took courses designed to increase cultural awareness, completed questionnaires before and after participating in the courses. Results indicate that teachers' tolerance for ambiguity increased after taking the course and that teachers in non-minority schools improved their attitudes toward cultural diversity after taking the course. Implications of the results of this study for teachers, researchers, and practitioners of intercultural communication are discussed.

Educational leaders throughout the United States are beginning to recognize cultural pluralism as a valuable rationale for planning and implementing programs to improve the quality of intercultural interaction. In an attempt to bring cultural pluralism to the classroom, numerous task forces and commissions have studied multicultural education and its incorporation into the educational system.[1] Until recently, however, cultural pluralism was either ignored or discounted as a worthwhile basis for formulating educational policy. "Anglo conformity" and the "melting pot" were the acceptable theories used to bring various ethnic, religious, and racial subcultures into the mainstream of American life.[2] "Anglo conformity" demands complete renunciation of a person's cultural background in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon group; the "melting pot" seeks a merger of the Anglo-Saxon groups with other cultural groups, producing a blending of their individual cultures into a a new indigenous American culture.

The most recent theory of assimilation is cultural pluralism. "The presumed goal of the cultural pluralists is to maintain enough subsocietal separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the existence of the group, without at the same time interfering with the carrying out of standard responsibilities to the general American civic life."[3] Maintaining the balance of separation for preservation of ethnic traditions with the need for participation in American life poses many problems for society, and education as an institution which fosters society's values. The question of how to encourage interaction among groups is not easy to answer. One way to facilitate this interaction and to promote acceptance of responsibilities of civic life is to be aware of and implement programs aimed at improving communication among diverse ethnic groups in society.

There have been various attempts by both legislators and educators to find methods of teaching cultural pluralism to teachers. The State of California, for example, in 1969 enacted a statute (Article 3.3) which mandated that by July 1, 1984, districts with a "substantial population of diverse ethnic backgrounds must provide an inservice preparation program designed to prepare teachers and other professional school service personnel to understand and effectively relate to the history, culture and current problems of these students and their environment."[4] Some of the methods developed by educational researchers focused directly on communication skills,[5] some focused indirectly on communication skills, such as in courses on human relations training and sensitivity training,[6] while others employed experiential techniques to increase awareness of cultural pluralism.[7] In addition, increasing a teacher's empathy was also utilized to increase awareness of cultural pluralism.[8] Thus, a number of approaches have been tried in training teachers to improve their understanding of cultural pluralism.

School districts throughout the State of California have developed inservice training programs and courses to meet the requirements regarding multicultural training. The Los Angeles Unified School District with its 30,000 teachers, launched one of the most comprehensive and varied multicultural inservice programs. In September, 1975, the Board of Education of the Los Angeles Unified School District adopted rules which were to encourage participation in multicultural staff development programs. The Board of Education required that in order to qualify for a schedule advancement on the preparation salary schedule, the teacher must complete two semester units authorized to meet the requirements of Article 3.3. Teachers were required to take two courses: one general survey course and one relating to a specific minority group. Nineteen general courses and seventeen specific courses were offered during the 1976-77 school year, involving approximately 16,000 teachers.[9] The multicultural inservice training program implemented by the Los Angeles Unified School District represents a variety of strategies attempting to create more positive attitudes on the part of teachers toward cultural diversity.

The aim of this study was to assess the effectiveness of the 3.3 courses in changing attitudes of the teachers of the Los Angeles Unified School District. Unlike most previous research in the area of multicultural training, this study attempted to examine such training in a natural, field setting. In addition, this study attempted to utilize a large number of subjects who were not self-selected and whose participation had very real consequences for them.

The main research question examined in the study was: "What is the effectiveness of the 3.3 courses?" More specifically, we attempted to study the following questions: Is there a change in attitudes of teachers toward cultural pluralism as a consequence of taking the courses? Are there any differential attitude shifts between those who take a course about a specific ethnic group and those who take a general course? Does the grade level taught by a teacher differentially affect a change in his/her attitudes toward cultural pluralism? Does teaching at a racially mixed school differentially affect a change in a teacher's attitudes toward cultural pluralism?

METHOD

Research Design

Given the pretest-posttest nature of this study, a repeated measures design would have been the most appropriate research design to employ. Practically, however, such a design was undesirable due to the fear expressed by many teachers and administrators that teachers, even if assured anonymity, would either not honestly answer the question on any of the measures or would not answer the measures at all. In addition, strict anonymity of subjects was one of the requirements for being allowed to conduct this study. The researchers, therefore, were forced to adopt a non-repeated measures design in which there was no identification of subjects by any means. The administration of the measures thus became an independent variable.

Subjects

Subjects were 217 Los Angeles City School teachers in the pretest administration of the measures and 191 Los Angeles City School teachers in the posttest administration of the measures. All subjects were enrolled in 3.3 courses offered by the Los Angeles Unified School District. Pretest-posttest subjects came from the same 3.3 courses. Though participation was voluntary, all teachers in the 3.3 courses included in the study filled out the measures. Courses targeted for inclusion in the study came from a random sampling of lists of the 3.3 courses offered within each of the twelve areas of the Los Angeles Unified School District. Leaders of thirty-three 3.3 courses were asked to allow the teachers in their courses to participate in this study. Of these, 18 complied with this request. Thus, while the sample does seem a representative one, it cannot be taken as a truly random sample of all of the 3.3 courses offered.

A control group of 50 subjects from another school district in the Los Angeles metropolitan area took the pretest and posttest measures at the same time that the experimental subjects did. A control group of Los Angeles City School teachers would have been preferable, but due to the mandatory nature of their participation in the 3.3 program this option was not possible. Control group teachers were selected because they did not have to take the 3.3 courses at that time, and because they came from the same metropolitan area as the Los Angeles teachers.

Independent Variables

As previously stated, the administration of the measures (pretest, posttest) forms the main independent variable for this study. The most appropriate way to include the other independent variables into the design would be to form a single multiple-factor analysis of variance (ANOVA). The *ex post facto* nature of the independent variables in this study prevented the use of such a design because of the lack of adequate cell size when all independent variables were crossed. Instead, one 2x2x2 ANOVA and one 2x2 ANOVA were used to test the research questions.[10]

The 2x2x2 ANOVA utilized the administration of the measures (pretest, posttest), the grade level taught (elementary, secondary), and the racial mixture of the school (minority school — over 25% minority enrollment, non-minority school — under 25% minority enrollment) as the independent variables. The 2x2 ANOVA utilized the administration of the measures (pretest, posttest) and the nature of the course (general, specific) as the independent variables (See Figure 1 for a graphic representation).

Dependent Measures

Two measuring instruments were used to evaluate the effects of the (3.3) multicultural courses in changing attitudes toward cultural diversity. The first part of the instrument consisted of the Scrambled Sentence Test developed by Costin which unobtrusively measures hostility.[11] The second part of the instrument consisted of a 25-item questionnaire designed to measure attitudes of respondents toward a variety of issues related to cultural pluralism. Some items in the instrument were selected from scales measuring dogmatism, ethnocentrism, tolerance for ambiguity, and ethnic prejudice. Other items were included to measure attitudes particularly salient for Los Angeles teachers including attitudes toward teacher transfer and attitudes toward the 3.3 courses. A preliminary questionnaire of 35 items was first administered to fifty teachers attending summer school at California State University, Northridge. From the original list of questions, twenty-five were selected for use in this study; the ten items dropped were vague, ambiguous, and difficult for respondents to understand.

The data from this questionnaire were submitted to principal components factor analysis with iterations and varimax rotation. A six factor solution was found with item inclusion based upon a loading of .50 or greater on that factor and .35 or less on any other factor. The six factors were labeled as follows: Factor 1, Attitudes Toward Ethnic Diversity; Factor 2, Attitudes Toward Teacher Integration; Factor 3, Ease in New Situations; Factor 4, Tolerance for Ambiguity; Factor 5, Tolerance for Linguistic Difference; and Factor 6, Attitudes Toward 3.3 Courses.

Figure 1. Subjects Per Cell for Analysis of Variance Designs

ADMINISTRATION	MINORITY SCHOOL	GRADE LEVEL
PRETEST	Minority	Elementary n = 78
		Secondary n = 53
	Nonminority	Elementary n = 20
		Secondary n = 24
POSTTEST	Minority	Elementary n = 72
		Secondary n = 48
	Nonminority	Elementary n = 17
		Secondary n = 19

ADMINISTRATION	COURSE
PRETEST	General n = 166
	Specific n = 37
POSTTEST	General n = 143
	Specific n = 38

RESULTS

Administration (Pretest-Posttest) Main Effects

There was only one statistically significant main effect from the pretest to the posttest administration of the questionnaire. In both ANOVAs, there was an increase in Factor 4 — Tolerance for Ambiguity — from the pretest to the posttest (Table 1). No other main effects were found to be significant in either of the ANOVAs between pretest and posttest measures.

TABLE 1
ADMINISTRATION MAIN EFFECTS FOR FACTOR 4 — TOLERANCE FOR AMBIGUITY[a]

Source of Variation		SS	df	MS	F	p
Administration	(A)	22.27	1	22.27	4.98	0.04*
Course	(B)	0.36	1	0.36	0.67	0.99
A X B		1.57	1	1.57	0.29	0.99
Error		1963.77	360	5.46		

*p < .05

[a] Note: For all ANOVAs (each of which utilized Administration as an independent variable), the Administration main effect was significant.

Administration X Course Effects

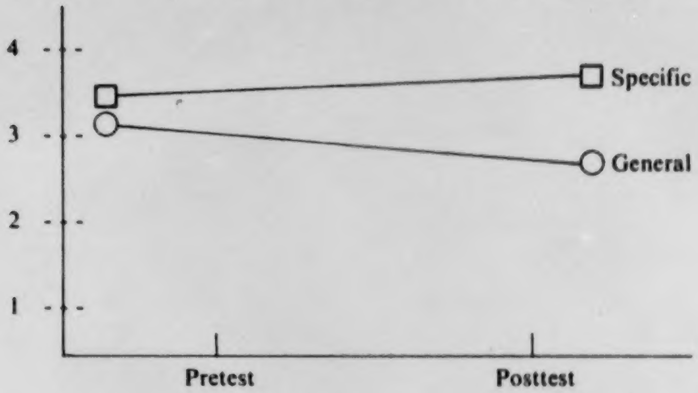
There was an interaction effect between the administration of the questionnaire and the type of course on Factor 6 — Attitudes Toward 3.3 Courses (Table 2 and Figure 2). Teachers taking general courses had less positive attitudes after taking their general 3.3 courses, while those taking specific courses had more positive attitudes after taking their specific 3.3 courses.

TABLE 2
ADMINISTRATION X COURSE INTERACTION FOR FACTOR 6 — ATTITUDES TOWARD 3.3 COURSES

Source of Variation		SS	df	MS	F	p
Administration	(A)	2.08	1	2.08	1.58	0.21
Course	(B)	11.15	1	11.15	8.51	0.01**
A X B		5.45	1	5.45	4.16	0.04*
Error		493.87	377	1.35		

*p < .01
**p < .05

FIGURE 2.
ADMINISTRATION X COURSE INTERACTION FOR FACTOR 6 — ATTITUDES TOWARD 3.3 COURSES[a]



[a] The higher the score, the more positive the attitude toward 3.3 courses.

Administration X Minority School Effects

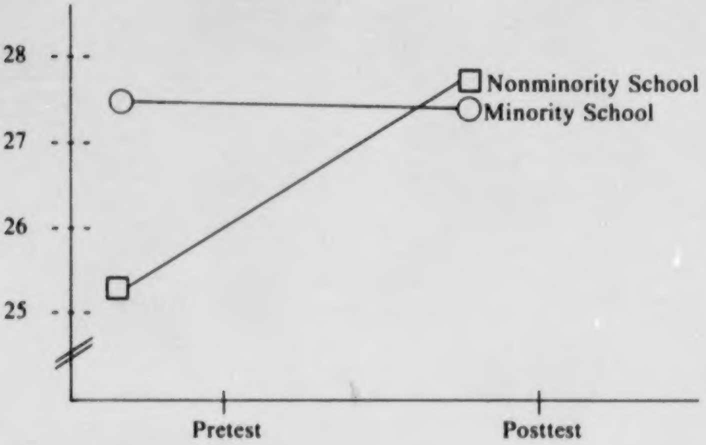
There was an interaction between teaching in a minority school and the administration of the questionnaire for Factor 1 (Table 3 and Figure 3). Those teaching in a minority school had their attitudes toward ethnic diversity hold constant between pretest and posttest administration of the questionnaire, while those teaching in a non-minority school showed more positive attitudes toward ethnic diversity after taking the 3.3 course than before.

TABLE 3
ADMINISTRATION X MINORITY SCHOOL INTERACTION FOR FACTOR I — ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p
Administration (A)	16.62	1	16.62	0.85	0.99
Minority School (B)	44.12	1	44.12	2.26	0.13
Grade Level (C)	279.94	1	279.94	14.37	0.01**
A X B	93.35	1	93.35	4.79	0.03*
A X C	40.87	1	40.87	2.10	0.14
B X C	54.50	1	54.50	2.80	0.09
A X B X C	24.18	1	24.18	1.24	
Error	6018.54	309	19.48		

**p <.01
*p <.05

FIGURE 3.
ADMINISTRATION X MINORITY SCHOOL INTERACTION FOR FACTOR I — ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNIC DIVERSITY[a]



[a] The higher the score, the more positive the attitude toward cultural diversity.

Control Group

There were no changes in the control group from the first administration to the secon administration of the questionnaire (Table 4).

TABLE 4
PRETEST-POSTTEST T-TESTS FOR CONTROL GROUP ON HOSTILITY, FACTOR 1-5

Variables	t	df	p
Hostility	0.12	87	0.90
Factor 1 (Attitudes Toward Ethnic Diversity)	0.32	85	0.75
Factor 2 (Attitudes Toward Teacher Integration)	0.21	86	0.83
Factor 3 (Ease in New Situations)	0.03	87	0.98
Factor 4 (Tolerance for Ambiguity)	0.04	87	0.97
Factor 5 (Tolerance for Linguistic Difference)	0.48	87	0.63

DISCUSSION

Across all subjects, there was an increase in tolerance for ambiguity after taking 3.3 courses. For at least one factor, the 3.3 courses did have an effect in changing teachers' attitudes in the desired direction. Since Allport suggests that a lack of tolerance for ambiguity is related to prejudice,[12] this finding suggests that the 3.3 courses might have some effectiveness in reducing teachers' prejudice. It should be kept in mind, however, that only one of the several criterion variables showed any main effect change from pretest to posttest administration of the questionnaire.

Another positive finding about the 3.3 programs was the interaction effect between teaching in a minority school and the administration of the questionnaire on Factor I — Attitudes Toward Ethnic Diversity. Those teachers in the non-minority schools had a significantly positive increase in their attitudes toward ethnic diversity, while those in minority schools showed no such positive increase. Teachers in the minority schools are a part of a cultural pluralistic experience and are familiar with cultural differences, while those teachers not in minority schools have not had the opportunity to experience cultural pluralism or ethnic diversity in the classroom. Thus, the 3.3 courses seem to provide information and experiences which help teachers who do not have direct classroom experiences with minorities become more positive toward cultural pluralism.

Attitudes toward the types of 3.3 course evidenced some change from the pretest to posttest administration of the questionnaire. Teachers taking specific courses were more positive in their attitudes toward 3.3 courses after completing those courses than before. Teachers taking the general courses were slightly less positive toward 3.3 courses after completing those courses than before. One reason posited for this effect is that the general courses are mainly taught by video tape with little opportunity for interpersonal interaction among the participants, while the specific courses did provide for such interaction. Further investigation of this possibility revealed that those general courses taught by videotape were less preferred than those providing for interpersonal interaction among participants. Participants in those general courses allowing for interaction did not differ significantly in their attitudes toward 3.3 courses from those taking the specific courses. It seems evident that teachers prefer to learn about cultural pluralism in a setting which allows them to interact with others.

From our findings, it does seem that the 3.3 programs do have an effect on teachers' attitudes, though perhaps not to the extent desired by educational policy makers. There are a number of reasons to explain why the results did not indicate a greater effectiveness of such programs.

First, the questions asked in this study were not directed toward measuring the specific goals set up by the 3.3 courses. They measured general attitudes; because of this lack of specificity in the questionnaires, the results may not reflect accomplishment of specific goals.

Second, there may have been a ceiling effect which did not allow for reflection of attitude change. For the most part, teachers who participated in this study had fairly positive attitudes toward cultural pluralism, ease in new situations, were tolerant of ambiguity, and were tolerant of linguistic differences. It may be that there was not sufficient latitude for change in attitudes by those teachers; there may have been little room for shifts in attitudes from before to after taking the courses.

Third, there are some methodological limitations in this study. There were too few subjects in certain cells to allow for testing of higher order interactions. Thus, any potential higher order interactions could not have been discovered in this study. The lack of ability to randomly assign subjects to treatment conditions and control groups may have introduced logical and psychological threats to the validity of this experiment. The fact that a repeated measures design was ruled out by practicalities may have decreased the chance of finding changes which may have actually occurred from before to after taking the course.

CONCLUSION

While there were some findings that 3.3 courses offered by the Los Angeles Unified School District were beneficial in helping teachers become aware and more tolerant of cultural diversity, the evidence did not suggest overwhelming changes in attitudes nor satisfaction with the program itself. Active involvement of participants, however, did increase their preference for multicultural training courses. While there was no direct evidence in this study of any attitude change based upon active participation, there is evidence that people learn more in situations when they feel positive about the situations.[13] The teachers in those courses allowing for greater interaction did feel more positive than those in courses not allowing as much interaction. When planning such courses, active involvement of participants should be stressed.

Teachers who work in non-minority schools did benefit from taking 3.3 courses, and it would seem important for school districts to incorporate similar types of inservice courses, no matter what the ethnic make-up of their community. If one of the aims of education is to foster cultural pluralism in the classroom, then teachers have the responsibility to bring such an experience to students when it is not available.

By providing teachers with practical experience in intercultural communication which can be translated in some way to classroom experience, teachers and students can both benefit from training in cultural diversity. It is vitally important that teachers be equipped to teach in a culturally diverse classroom and to educate their students about cultural diversity. By combining theoretical constructs about multicultural diversity and intercultural communication with practical applications for the classroom, the goal of increased tolerance for others may well be achieved.

This study was a first step in analyzing the effectiveness of multicultural training in a field setting. Further empirical studies are needed to investigate the effect of intercultural interaction on improving attitudes as well as what other intercultural communication training approaches produce positive attitude change.

NOTES

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[10] These two ANOVAs are only part of a larger series of two-way and three-way ANOVAs (a total of four) which were run on the data. The two ANOVAs excluded were not relevant to the study of intercultural communication and were thus not included in this report. For a full treatment of all of the ANOVAs run on the data see Elizabeth Berry and Paul D. Krivonos, "The Effects of Inservice Training on Teachers' Attitudes Toward Cultural Diversity," paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Western Speech Communication Association, Phoenix, Arizona, November, 1977.

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GAZE BEHAVIOR IN INTERRACIAL AND INTRARACIAL INTERACTIONS

ROBERT SHUTER

The study examined the effect of race, sex, and dyadic composition on the percentage of time interactants engage in other-directed gaze when speaking and listening. The results demonstrated that whites look more at their partners than do blacks; females engage in more other-directed gaze than do males; and the gaze patterns of blacks and whites of both genders do not alter significantly when they communicate with either white males, white females, black males, or black females. Implications of the results for transracial interaction are also discussed.

Studies on eye contact have focused primarily on the effects of personality, social context, and conversational content on visual behavior in interpersonal encounters. It has been reported, for example, that women engage in more eye contact than do men,[1] introverts are less likely to engage in direct eye contact than are extroverts,[2] autistic individuals use minimal eye contact,[3] couples in love are more eye contact oriented than are individuals less romantically involved,[4] and supportive individuals are gazed at more than are critical persons.[5] Few studies have examined the regulatory function of eye contact; that is, the role of gaze behavior in initiating, sustaining, and closing conversations.

Examination of the regulatory function of eye contact has revealed that it influences conversational turn-taking. Kendon found, for example, that speakers use sustained gaze to indicate a change in speaker/listener roles.[6] He also discovered that conversants look more at their partners when listening than speaking which facilitates the exchange of speaker/listener roles. In fact, when the preceding gaze pattern is violated, it has been demonstrated that the turn-taking process is affected, producing simultaneous speech and increased interpersonal tension.[7]

Studies conducted on the frequency of eye contact and its regulatory function have been done primarily with white subjects. Minimal research has been conducted on gaze behavior among blacks, and no reported studies have systematically investigated eye contact in transracial encounters.

In a microanalytic study, LaFrance and Mayo discovered that blacks engage in more eye contact when speaking than listening, while whites look more at their partners in the listening mode.[8] Since the sample consisted of only three subjects — two blacks and one white — the findings are speculative.

LaFrance and Mayo also conducted a field study of black/white eye contact patterns to test the reliability of their laboratory results.[9] They examined only the listening behavior of interactants in same race dyads and found that whites gaze more at one another when listening than do blacks. This finding may not be generalizable to the interracial encounter since it has been observed that interactants of both races alter their eye contact patterns when communicating in a black/white dyad.[10] Moreover, since each eye contact varies in length, with some lasting only a fraction of a second, it is highly questionable whether a rater in the field can accurately measure the duration of a gaze with only a stopwatch — the procedure ostensibly utilized in the study.

Additional researchers argue without substantiation that black conversants engage in significantly less eye contact than do whites.[11] According to Albert Scheflen, racial differences in eye contact patterns are a frequent source of misunderstanding in the transracial encounter: the black supposedly assumes that the white is staring, while the white conversant incorrectly concludes that the black is not listening.[12] Although interesting, these findings are inconclusive, for they are unsupported by quantitative or qualitative data.

Given the existing research, it appears that whites and blacks may have substantially different gaze patterns which, in a transracial encounter, may be misinterpreted and also upset the exchange of speaker/listener roles. To determine if blacks and whites have significantly different gaze patterns and whether these patterns exist in transracial interactions, this study examines black and white conversants in same race and mixed race encounters. Accordingly, for the present investigation, several research questions on black/white eye contact patterns are posed.

1. Do the gaze patterns of black and white interactants differ significantly in the speaking and listening modes?
2. Do the gaze patterns of black males and black females alter significantly in the speaking and listening modes when they communicate in a dyad with white males, white females, black males, or black females?
3. Do the gaze patterns of white males and white females alter significantly in the speaking and listening modes when they communicate in a dyad with white males, white females, black males, or black females?
4. Do the gaze patterns of male and female interactants differ significantly in the speaking and listening modes?

METHOD

Procedure

Two hundred undergraduates, one hundred whites and one hundred blacks, served as subjects. Representing a variety of majors, subjects were recruited from throughout the university with the assistance of professors and teaching assistants who secured volunteers from their classes. Volunteers were assigned random numbers for selection purposes. Subjects were gathered from nineteen classes representing a broad range of disciplines.

Subjects were assigned to mixed race (black/white) and same race (black/black, white/white) dyads of male/male, male/female, and female/female composition. To ensure paired subjects were unfamiliar with each other, conversants were asked when they reported to the laboratory if they were acquainted with their partners. Subjects who knew one another were assigned to other pairs; eight conversants were excluded from the sample because they could not be paired with unfamiliar individuals.

Seated three and a half feet apart and facing each other — conversational distance according to Edward Hall[13] — paired interactants were placed in a laboratory where their speech and behavior could be unobtrusively recorded by a videotape recorder. The subjects were told that the purpose of the experiment was to explore the way people communicate with a stranger. The experimenter then asked each dyad to discuss whether a college education was worth the students' sizable expenditure of money and time.

After completing the introductory remarks, the experimenter left the room and a technician activated the videotape recorder. For five minutes, a camera taped each dyadic encounter; the subjects were unaware their behavior was being recorded.

At the conclusion of the research, subjects were told the actual purpose of the experiment, informed they were videotaped, and asked if their taped encounters could be analyzed. All subjects permitted the experimenter to examine the taped conversations.

Videotape Analysis

Two raters equipped with stopwatches viewed the tape through a Panasonic Time Lapse Videotape Recorder on which tape speed can be readily reduced. Both conversants in a dyad were analyzed, with raters initially timing each speaking and listening contribution of an interactant during the five minute encounter. On completing these judgements, the tape was re-examined; raters independently recorded the number of seconds each conversant spent looking at a partner's face (other-directed gaze) during each speaking and listening contribution. With this procedure, the investigator was able to accurately compute the percentage of time the interactants gazed at their partners when speaking and listening.

Two raters were used in the videotape analysis to increase the reliability of timed judgements. Interjudgmental reliability was .99 on measuring gaze duration and the length of each speaking and listening contribution.

RESULTS

In employing a 4 x 2 x 2 factorial design, three factors — dyadic composition, race, and sex — were investigated to determine their effect on three measures: (1) the percentage of time a subject engages in other-directed gaze while speaking; (2) the percentage of time a subject engages in other-directed gaze while listening; (3) the overall percentage of time a subject engages in other-directed gaze while speaking and listening. Factor one — dyadic composition — has four levels, each representing the race and sex of the unmeasured interactant in a two person group: black male, black female, white male, and white female. Factor two is the measured interactant's race which consists of two levels: black and white. The third factor — a conversant's gender — also has two levels: male and female.

The analysis of variance revealed a significant main effect for race.[14] The mean gaze scores for whites were significantly higher in the speaking ($p < .01$) and listening ($p < .05$) modes than were the scores for blacks (Tables 1 and 2). Accordingly, the average percentage time for other-directed gaze was significantly ($p < .05$) higher among white than black conversants (Table 3).

TABLE 1

MEAN PERCENTAGES FOR OTHER DIRECTED GAZE IN THE SPEAKING MODE

		Race		
		White	Black	
Sex	Male	53.27 48	31.14 48	$\bar{X} = 42.20$ $n = 96$
	Female	52.91 48	43.45 48	$\bar{X} = 48.18$ $n = 96$
		$\bar{X} = 53.09$ $n = 96$	$\bar{X} = 37.29$ $n = 96$	

TABLE 2

MEAN PERCENTAGES FOR OTHER DIRECTED GAZE IN THE LISTENING MODE

		Race		
		White	Black	
Sex	Male	70.55 48	40.91 48	$\bar{X} = 56.73$ $n = 96$
	Female	76.09 48	73.18 48	$\bar{X} = 74.63$ $n = 96$
		$\bar{X} = 73.32$ $n = 96$	$\bar{X} = 57.04$ $n = 96$	

TABLE 3

MEAN PERCENTAGES FOR OTHER DIRECTED GAZE IN THE SPEAKING AND LISTENING MODES

		Race		
		White	Black	
Sex	Male	61.91 48	36.02 48	$\overline{X}$ = 48.96 n = 96
	Female	64.50 48	58.31 48	$\overline{X}$ = 61.40 n = 96
		$\overline{X}$ = 63.20 n = 96	$\overline{X}$ = 47.16 n = 96	

Intraracial analysis revealed that white males, white females, and black females engaged in significantly ($p < .05$) more other-directed gaze when listening than speaking. Black males had higher mean gaze scores in the listening than speaking mode; however, the means were not significantly different.

The main effect for dyadic composition was not significant. It was found that the gaze percentages in speaking and listening for blacks and whites of either gender did not alter significantly when they communicated with white males, white females, black males, or black females.

A significant main effect was discovered for gender. Females engaged in significantly ($p < .05$) more other-directed gaze in the listening mode than did males (Table 2). Though the gaze score for females in the speaking mode was higher than that for males, these means were not significantly different. Overall, females had a significantly ($p < .05$) higher mean percentage time for other-directed gaze than did males.

DISCUSSION

In the speaking and listening modes, whites gaze significantly more at their partners than do blacks. This pattern is maintained regardless of the composition of the dyad, for blacks and whites of both genders do not significantly alter their eye contact orientation in the speaking and listening modes when communicating with either white males, white females, black males, or black females. Contrary to past research, this study indicates that blacks and whites do not significantly change their eye contact patterns in a transracial encounter.[15]

Intraracial gaze analysis revealed additional differences and similarities in eye contact among black and white conversants. In contrast with LaFrance and Mayo's results, it was found that black males and females gaze more at a person when listening than speaking — a pattern also evident among white conversants of either gender.[16] In fact, black females, white females, and white males engage in significantly more eye contact in the listening than speaking mode; no significant difference in speaking and listening percentages was found among black males. Interestingly, it is the black male who seems to possess the most idiosyncratic eye contact patterns. For example, on closer examination of the gaze scores for speaking and listening, one finds that the percentages recorded for black females are closer to those of white males and females than the scores computed for black males. This is evident in the speaking and listening modes during which black males engage in substantially less eye contact than do black females, white males, and white females. The finding broadens LaFrance and Mayo's conclusion that black males are less eye contact oriented in the listening mode than are black females, white males, and white females.

The findings are also significant because they indicate that blacks and whites display significantly different eye contact patterns in transracial encounters. This is important to know since these eye contact differences may be a source of misunderstanding in mixed race interactions. In addition, racial differences in eye contact may upset the exchange of speaker/listener roles in interracial encounters.

In terms of the attribution process, future studies should investigate how blacks and whites interpret one another's gaze patterns. It is possible, for example, that whites may negatively evaluate the eye contact patterns of blacks, since there is evidence that listeners who gaze infrequently at Caucasian speakers are often considered uninterested and aloof. Similarly, research on staring suggests that blacks may construe the sustained gaze of whites as a sign of hostility, emotional disturbance, or disrespect.[17] Examination of the attribution process should help determine whether black/white differences in gaze patterns produce tension in the interracial encounter.

In addition to exploring attribution, researchers should systematically examine how conversational flow in the transracial encounter is influenced by racial differences in gaze orientation. It appeared in this study that white speakers often had difficulty yielding the floor to black male listeners. On several occasions, a white speaker paused, gazed at his black partner, only to find the listener looking away, seemingly unaware he was being signaled to take the floor. White speakers sometimes resorted to verbal commands to facilitate the exchange of speaker/listener roles in the interracial encounter. Careful investigation of gaze behavior in transracial interactions may uncover additional problems blacks and whites experience in initiating, sustaining, and closing conversations.

Finally, it was found that women, be they black or white, gaze more at their partners in the speaking and listening modes than do men of either race. When gaze behavior is examined within each race, the following gender pattern emerges: white females engage in the most eye contact, followed by white males, black females, and lastly black males. This finding supports previous research conducted in the United States and England that white females gaze more at their partners than do whites and blacks of either gender.[18] It remains for future studies to ascertain why white women seem to engage in more direct eye contact than do black women and white and black men.

NOTES

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[11] K. Johnson, "Black Kinesics: Some Nonverbal Communication Patterns in Black Culture," *Intercultural Communication, a Reader* eds. L. Samovar and R. Porter, (California: Wadsworth Press, 1972).

[12] A. Scheflen, *Body Language and Social Order*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

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[14] Comparisons were made at the .05 level of significance. One analysis of variance was performed to analyze the speaking and listening modes.

[15] Rich, p. 186.

[16] LaFrance and Mayo, p. 548.

[17] Argyle and Cook, p. 68.

[18] Exline, Gray, and Schuette, p. 201.

A SITUATIONAL APPROACH TO CRITICISM OF INTERCULTURAL DISCOURSE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PUERTO RICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1940

WILLIAM G. DAVEY

In the area of rhetorical analysis of intercultural discourse, refinement of existing critical designs is necessary to increase their cultural sensitivity. This paper (1) suggests a modification of an existing critical model based on the situational theories of Bitzer and Brockreide, and the cultural pattern model suggested by Stewart; (2) applies this revised situational approach to an intercultural communication event, the Puerto Rican political campaign of 1940; and (3) evaluates the utility of this revised approach and suggests some implications for future research in intercultural communication involving rhetorical analysis.

As the field of intercultural communication matures, the need for refinement of its research methodology becomes more evident. This circumstance has led scholars to adapt various methods to it, including traditional rhetorical analysis. Such rhetorical studies, however, have often lacked the cultural sensitivity necessary for penetrating intercultural communication research. In an attempt to overcome this obstacle, this paper will: (1) suggest a usable modification of an existing rhetorical model, (2) apply that model to an intercultural communication event, and (3) evaluate the utility of the model and discuss implications for further research.

The present analysis proceeds from the assumption that communication and modernization are linked, and that by studying speeches and writings one can gain insight into the process of social change. The idea that communication has a profound effect on a society is supported by research concerning communication in developing nations. Everett M. Rogers concluded that "communication is an essential part of social change, and perhaps all analysis of social change must ultimately focus upon communication processes."[1] Wilbur Schramm argued that communication contributes to economic and social change in developing countries by establishing "a climate in which development can take place."[2] It would seem that communication, on the one hand, establishes a situation which promotes the possibility for more communication and, on the other hand, the form and content of the communication is controlled by the situation. This suggests that the key to understanding the role of communication in social change is to identify the cultural aspects of the situation. Accordingly, criticism should be approached from the perspective that the form, content, and effectiveness of discourse is based on the situational demands. Approaching criticism from such a situational perspective, and accepting the notion that the form and content of discourse must be adapted to the particular circumstances, including cultural ones, this study analyzes the rhetorical situation and strategies associated with Muñoz Marín's political campaign of 1940.

In developing a situational perspective, the starting point was the model of the rhetorical situation developed by Bitzer.[3] According to his essay, all rhetorical situations have three components: (1) exigence, an imperfection marked by urgency: (2) audience, the agent capable of modifying the exigence; and (3) constraints — people, places, things, and traditions effecting the modification of the exigence.

Bitzer's discussion was important to this study in two ways. The concept of exigence permitted the isolation of specific issues calling the discourse into existence; and the concept of constraints provided flexibility in identifying important extralinguistic factors affecting the modification of the exigence. Bitzer's paradigm alone, however, offers no method for dealing with the communication activity itself. When augmented with Brockriede's situational dimensions, however, the resulting synthesis provides an adequate framework for criticism from a situational perspective.

Brockreide's concept of six situational dimensions — "format, channels, people, functions, methods, and contexts" — allows the critic to analyze both the nature of the rhetorical activity and the rhetorical situation in which it occurs.[4] His treatment provides the necessary variables to analyze, and also permits the analysis of the relationships between the situation and the issues that sparked the discourse. A workable critical format combining both perspectives is created by considering the concept of rhetorical exigence as merely a situational dimension, suggesting that every rhetorical situation has an imperfection, either real or perceived, that warrants critical attention; and it is that exigence that determines the nature of the rhetorical act. A synthesis of these situational theories provides dimensions which can be used to structure the analysis. Given the dimensions suggested by Bitzer and Brockreide, a further extension must be made to develop a critical procedure. The critic gains insight by not only describing the individual dimensions but also by developing relationships among the factors. Three relationships serve as the focal points for this study and may be labeled: rhetorical determinants, rhetorical environment, and rhetorical strategies.

Rhetorical determinants are the synthesis of exigence and function. Determinants indicate not only the reasons why the communication is called into existence, but also the predicted way the exigence will be modified. Rhetorical environments combine contexts and people. Environments are of two types: historical and immediate. Historical environments deal with the larger occasion in which at any point the immediate environment occurs. Rhetorical strategies refer to the interrelationship among formats, channels, and methods. Strategies affect the nature and the substance of the rhetorical works themselves.

The application of this model is relatively uncomplicated when analyzing discourse in a unicultural setting. However, when applying it to cross-cultural discourse, the critic must be aware of the cultural factors impacting on the rhetorical situation. Intercultural criticism requires the analysis of discourse within a cultural framework. To effect the merger of cultural factors and the rhetorical situation, Edward C. Stewart's notion of cultural patterns seems appropriate. Stewart conceptualizes a cultural pattern as consisting of thinking, assumptions, and values which have reference to actual behavior.[5] When attempting intercultural criticism, the critic must give close attention to the cultural patterns manifested in the acts of the speaker(s) under analysis. In terms of communication behavior, these patterns are manifested in speaking, writing, and modes of interaction. Intercultural criticism requires the identification of potentially incompatible traditions, interaction norms, assumptions, values and the like which may have important implications for evaluating the discourse. The components suggested by Stewart, and fully compatible with the situational model of rhetorical criticism suggested earlier, fit well in the discussion of rhetorical environment and will be utilized to analyze the rhetoric of Luis Muñoz Marín during the campaign of 1940.

THE CASE OF LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN AND THE 1940 CAMPAIGN

The 1940 political campaign was the first in a series of steps that culminated in the commonwealth system of government for Puerto Rico. It is considered by many social scientists to be the birth of a peaceful revolution which led to political, economic, and social change of significant magnitude. In addition to its historical significance, the campaign presents a unique opportunity to observe the effect of several cultural patterns that had a profound impact upon the outcome of the campaign. What follows is an analysis of the campaign of 1940 from a situational and cultural perspective, discussing the rhetorical environment, the rhetorical determinants, and the rhetorical strategies.

Rhetorical Environment

The rhetorical environment surrounding the 1940 insular election had its origins two decades earlier. In 1929, Muñoz Marín returned to Puerto Rico after a prolonged stay in the United States. Upon his return, Muñoz became the editor of *La Democracia* and a vigorous agitator for independence. Although remaining an ardent independentista, Muñoz rose in the ranks of the pro-statehood Liberal Party and was elected to the insular Senate in 1932.

Recognizing that Puerto Rico's economy could make permanent progress only by internal changes, Muñoz Marin and Rexford Tugwell devised a plan to redistribute over two hundred thousand acres of corporately owned sugar land. These corporate plantation owners exercised political as well as economic domination over the peasants and tenant farmers by controlling the amount of available work, buying votes during elections, and dispensing large amounts of money to those political parties which supported their interests. The patterns of interaction between peasants and landowners were governed by tradition and were antithetical to U.S. political interests. The jíbaro (peasant), intimidated by the power of the landowner and by fear of losing his meager means of subsistence, obeyed the sugar barons in political matters.

Muñoz Marín's campaign against the sugar companies and absentee landowners was so intense that in May 1937, Antonio Barceló and his followers expelled Muñoz from the Liberal Party under pressure from the sugar barons.[6] On June 27, Muñoz convened a meeting of the "Pure, Authentic, and Complete Puerto Rican Liberal Party." A resolution was passed that supported independence for Puerto Rico and demanded Barcelo's resignation as President of the Liberal Party.

Muñoz Marín's attempt to gain control failed, and for a year he was without political party or money. Further, he had lost the backing of New Deal forces in Washington. The influence of Muñoz Marín, with its promise of reform, almost disappeared. Although many believed he would pass into political obscurity, Luis Muñoz Marín salvaged his political future in the period of 1938-40. With little popular support, no funds to buy votes, and no legislative program to achieve wide appeal, Muñoz turned to the jíbaro and agregado, the disenfranchised peasants and tenant farmers of the interior. Although they were poor and illiterate, the jíbaros were a complex people whom Muñoz hoped to reach with his new party. The jíbaros and their plight became the central issues in Muñoz Marín's political program.

It is necessary to understand the unique personality and cultural patterns of the jíbaro if one is to perceive how Muñoz Marín organized these illiterate peasants into a powerful electorate. Historian Salvador Brau suggests, "The word *jíbaro*, that for the first time was applied to the peasants of Puerto Rico in official documents of the eighteenth century, is of Indian origin. With it is designated one of the numerous groups of nations into which the Caribé people have been divided, and the jíbaro nation is precisely distinguished by their primitive and unrefined habits . . ."[7] Literally, the Indian word means "being free," a phrase which seems to describe the independent spirit of the jíbaro.

The jíbaro is further characterized in a sonnet, *El Gíbaro*, published in 1849 by Dr. Manuel A. Alonso:

Brown color, bright countenance,
Languid look, proud and penetrating,
Dark chin, pallid countenance,
Thin face, nose proportionate,
Medium stature, deliberate walk;
Heart of longing illusions,
Sharp mind, free and arrogant,
Restless thought, heated mind,
Human, affable, just, generous,
In affairs of love, always changing,
Always toiling in search of glory and pleasure,
  and in love of his country insuperable:
This is, no doubt, a true design to copy
  a good Puerto Rican.[8]

The legend of the jíbaro also is found in Puerto Rican children's stories. His personality is divided into three characters: Juan Bobo (Silly John), Juan Animala (Fearless John), and Juan Cuchilla (John the Knife). The first is unlucky, pathetic, and simple; the second is clever, fearless, affectionate and loyal to his own and dangerous to strangers; the last Juan is a man driven to crime by the misery around him.[9] Together they form a composite of the complex personality of the Puerto Rican jíbaro.

As a writer, Muñoz Marín also devoted his attention to the jíbaro. In "Puerto Rico: The American Colony," Muñoz wrote: "The jíbaros are infantile, passionate, shrewd in their simple dealings, susceptible to religious quackery, and manage to carry a surprisingly heavy load of generosity along with that of their poverty. They have frequently been imposed upon by the outside world, and have developed a naive armor of suspiciousness that enrages the politicians and rural confidence men who try to prey upon them."[10]

One of the most comprehensive studies of Puerto Rican culture and the jíbaro is Theodore Brameld's *The Remaking of a Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico.* In this careful study, the author enumerated those traits selected by his respondents to typify the jíbaro. These included: "dignity, hospitality . . ., seriousness, folkwisdom, courageousness, brotherliness, firmness of conviction, independence, respect for achievement, love of one's own plot of land, and hard working habits. On the negative side were suspiciousness, authoritarianism, cupidity, rigidity, reticence, and defeatist attitudes."[11]

While it is difficult to reconstruct the total personality of the Puerto Rican jíbaro of the 1930's, the preceding descriptions seem to characterize the typical jíbaro.

In insular politics, the jíbaros were largely ignored as a significant political entity. They had been romanticized to the extent that most politicians neglected to take them seriously. It was easier for the large sugar interests to buy their votes for a small sum than to support the vast economic and social reforms that would give the jíbaro justice. Year after year, the jíbaro sold his vote, believing his fate was sealed by the sugar interests whether the vote was sold or not. Although the practice was widespread, the jíbaro's shrewdness and dignity could not be compromised by the corrupt politician. It was known the jibaro could be bought, but only if his dignity could be preserved.

It was to this peasant populace of the interior that Muñoz Marín dedicated his new party. On July 5, 1938, he issued an ultimatum to Antonio Barceló to resign his leadership of the liberal party within eight days or Muñoz would organize a new political party. Barceló condemned the proposal as "the most ambitious petition ever formulated under the burning Puerto Rican sun."[12] As a result, Muñoz and his followers met in Arecibo and founded the Popular Democratic Party. On July 22, 1938, the party announced its registration in two small voting districts, Barranquitas and Luquillo. Prior to the 1940 election, the party was able to register in the remaining seventy-five districts. The rallying cry became "Jalda Arriba," "Up the Hill," in anticipation of the pending election struggle.

Despite the numerous obstacles that Muñoz Marín's new party faced, historian Robert J. Hunter noted that Muñoz had at least three factors in his favor as the election of 1940 approached: (1) he had a name prominently associated with politics; (2) his followers included some of the most prominent intellectuals and professionals; and (3) he had the ear of the jíbaros who had largely been neglected by other political parties.[13] In July 1940, the party held its first constituent assembly with 3,500 delegates attending. In two years Muñoz had constructed a small but efficient political organization.

The final aspect of the rhetorical environment which merits discussion is the role of personal and cultural factors in the development of Muñoz Marín as a significant rhetorical figure. While the notion that personal factors affect an individual's rhetorical works is generally accepted in critical theory, the idea assumes added significance when dealing with the Latin culture. The role of birthright, charisma, and other credibility components becomes especially critical. In attempting to describe Muñoz Marín's place in the rhetorical environment, it is necessary to discuss those factors related to his ability to achieve a leadership role in Puerto Rican culture.

From cultural anthropologist John Gillin's analysis of modern Latin American culture, two significant factors related to rhetorical effectiveness can be isolated: (1) in a socially-stratified culture such as Puerto Rico's, memberships in a prominent family, either by birth or marriage, is an important factor in achieving recognition in the highest layer of society; and (2) possession of a traditional Latin social personality is necessary for developing interpersonal relationships with Latin-American cultures. Such a personality embodies cultural traits such as cognizance of individual worth and dignity, idealism, and an action-orientation which includes verbal facility.[14] Viewing Muñoz Marín's life in terms of these cultural concepts, it is possible to describe the relationship of personal factors and the situation that produced his rhetorical works.

Rhetorical Determinants

For Muñoz and the Popular Democratic Party to be successful, several conventional practices in Puerto Rican politics had to be modified in very specific ways. Muñoz Marín had to achieve broad based electoral support without splitting the new party and the prospective voters with divisive campaign issues. He also had to hold together in one unit the party machinery of professionals and intellectuals with varying political status positions. Moreover, since Muñoz could not count on receiving campaign funds from traditional sources, the large land owners and sugar companies, the Populares had to devise ways of raising honest money to finance the campaign.

Most importantly, if Muñoz was to gain the confidence of U.S. politicians, he had to overcome the widespread electoral corruption that had plagued Puerto Rico for years. The practice of vote-selling by the jíbaros for a small amount of money or other "gift" had to be abolished. Muñoz Marín had to convince the jíbaros that politics was important to them, and that they could receive social and economic justice from an honest leader. This was Muñoz's most difficult task because it required the establishment of a class feeling among the jíbaros in order to promote a complete reconstruction of their political expectations and actions. Finally, Muñoz had to establish that he was worthy of leadership within the traditional Puerto Rican culture. The total of these exigences and rhetorical functions presented Muñoz Marin and the Popular Democratic Party with a task no less formidable than effecting a fundamental change in the social order.[15]

Rhetorical Strategies

The rhetorical strategies chosen by Luis Muñoz Marín were a complex manipulation of formats, channels, and methods. By first analyzing the substance and form of each rhetorical issue, and then discussing the formats and channels used as vehicles of expression, it is possible to trace the chronology of the campaign and to clarify how each rhetorical strategy was designed to satisfy the rhetorical determinants. To achieve his rhetorical goals, Muñoz employed four types of rhetorical strategies: a strategy of avoidance, a strategy of identification, a strategy of mass dialogue, and a strategy of saturation.

In attempting to achieve a coalition of interests among the varied components within the Popular Democratic Party, Muñoz had to avoid any ideological stand that affected the precarious balance necessary to put the PDP in power. Muñoz Marín's first rhetorical strategy was to defer the philosophical problem posed by the status question. On January 12, 1940, Muñoz declared, "The question of political status, as far as the Popular Democratic Party is concerned, is not an issue in the electoral campaign."[16] Manuel Maldonado-Denis suggests that it was this policy of temporary de-emphasis of the status issue that allowed so many independentístas to be attracted to the party. They were convinced that once the serious economic problems were solved, Muñoz would move toward independence.[17] Since Muñoz believed that the status question was never a burning issue for the jíbaros, it was a logical step to shift from a problem that the Popular Democratic Party couldn't possibly solve to issues that affected the peasants directly.[18] In a curious combination of Spanish and English, Muñoz popularized the slogan "El status politico no esta en issue" as a device for remembering his pledge.

If Muñoz and his democratic movement were to have any chance of success, he had to persuade the jíbaros not to sell their votes. Although Muñoz had no money to buy votes even had he so desired, philosophically the Populares were committed to political reform. Before the development of the PDP, the rural poor had never known the meaning of political power. Both liberal and conservative politicians agreed that the jíbaro was a forsaken man and that no political movement could begin in the mountains. Muñoz felt differently. He knew the jíbaro was a hard working, proud, and generous man who was suspicious of political leaders. His campaign against vote-buying provides numerous examples of rhetorical indentification with the cultural patterns and artifacts of the jíbaros of Puerto Rico.

The identification began with the adoption of a symbol of his party; a white flag with a large red pava, the homemade straw hat of the jíbaro, in the center. Because of the high rate of illiteracy on the island, each political party typically adopted a familiar symbol such as a palm tree to facilitate identification with the party. For many uneducated Puerto Ricans, voting simply meant selecting the appropriate party symbol on the ballot. Muñoz selected the pava, the single most identifiable possession of the jíbaro. For many, the selection of the pava represented a moral committment by Muñoz Marín to promote their interests.

Muñoz influenced the jíbaro through other nonverbal symbols. Always in a sport shirt, he would sit for hours speaking to the poor, drinking coffee from cups hewn from coconut shells, and discussing the necessity for political justice and economic reform. Earl Parker Hanson, a friend and co-worker of Muñoz, recounts an appropriate incident at a political meeting when Muñoz took a bottle of Coca-Cola and began to drink it. A man in the crowd remarked that another politician would be wearing a coat and tie, and have the drink served on a silver platter in a glass. "This man," the jíbaro said, "is different . . . This man leaves off the coat, hat, and necktie; his clothes are wrinkled and full of sweat because he has come far and worked hard; he drinks Coca-Cola from the bottle. He acts like one of us and I am for him."[19] Muñoz responded with a familiar answer: "I appreciate your support, but I happen to drink out of a bottle only because it is convenient and there doesn't seem to be a glass around here. But if you people supported me for that reason, if you voted for candidates because they drink out of bottles instead of glasses, every political son-of-a-bitch on the island would run around sucking on a bottle all of the time. But that is not the way you vote. You vote for principles that I will explain to you, and that is why we will win this election."[20]

During his political speaking, Muñoz Marín appealed to attitudes consonant with the personality of the jíbaro. "Distrust all politicians—even me," Muñoz told the people. Further, he argued, "If you want to sell your vote, go ahead, it's a free country. But be sure you get something for it, you can't get both justice and the $2.00."[21] He compared politics with the lifestyle of the peasants. He likened the selling of votes to the jíbaro's selling his baraca, a small wooden shield that protected his possessions against hurricanes. To the jíbaro, this was inconceivable. Another target attitude to which Muñoz appealed was the jíbaro's sense of masculine dignity. Again, speaking about vote-selling, Muñoz declared: "If a thief were going to take your house and crop, and you had a weapon to defend yourself against the thief, would you sell the weapon to that bandito for a few cents? Or would you use that weapon so that the thief cannot take your house and crop. The same is true with the vote. The vote is a weapon that you have and that all people have to defend their right to work, their right to a good wage, their right to a piece of land, their right to a home . . ."[22] By appealing to the jíbaro's love of his own piece of land and his dignity, Manuel Maldonado-Denis writes that "the leader of the Popular Democratic Party used a political rhetoric which was very popular with the Puerto Rican people."[23]

Several observers suggest that Muñoz Marín's strategy of mass dialogue was a key to his success. Hanson writes, "Muñoz received attention from the beginning . . . not only because of his clear and simple logic, but also because his naturalness set him off from other political leaders . . ."[24] Agrait suggests that Muñoz Marín revolutionized political oratory in Puerto Rico by speaking in a conversational manner instead of the lyrical harangues so typical of political speaking on the island."[25] Biographer Thomas Aitken describes Muñoz Marín's style in the many roadside conversations: "He spoke well, clearly, with imagery, and with sincerity; and he listened with deep attention, his large eyes fixed on the other speaker as he weighed the man's thoughts."[26] A typical example of Muñoz Marín's conversational dialogue took place numerous times at political meetings. Muñoz would single out an older man and ask him:

> How many times have you voted?
> Five times, Don Luis.
> Did you ever see any change in your life as a result?
> No, things only became worse.
> Then give me one chance. Don't give me your vote.
> Lend it to me. If we don't keep our promises,
> then never vote for me again. Isn't that fair enough?
> I don't know, Don Luis. There'll always be politicians, right?
> Yes. But you can always get rid of me. I can't be worse than the other guy, can I? Now I tell you what to do, whether you vote for me or not, you take a tablita and you hang it in your house. Any man whom you elect who doesn't keep his promise, you put his name down on that piece of wood, and you never vote for that man again.[27]

Although Muñoz was campaigning vigorously in the interior of Puerto Rico, his one man campaign was not fast enough. The Popular Party could not afford to buy radio time, so new ways of communicating with the masses had to be discovered. Drawing from his campaign experiences in the United States, Muñoz developed alternative forms of saturation that were perhaps the most unique aspects of the campaign. In the course of the election, Muñoz personally brought his program to more than five hundred of the seven hundred eighty-six election districts on Puerto Rico. To reach others, he made two hundred records of speeches at eighty-four cents each and sent them to villages with instructions that each was to be played ten times daily from loudspeakers on ox carts; by that method, Muñoz Marín made thirty thousand speeches in fifty days.

In addition to his speaking, Muñoz also employed two written forms of mass communication: *El Catecismo del Pueblo* (The People's Catechism) and a newspaper *El Batey*. The People's Catechism was a pamphlet in question and answer format explaining both the economic and political issues and the evils of vote-selling. In response to a question about vote-selling, the Catecismo replied: "If you sell your votes, somebody has to put up the money with which to buy them. After that, whoever wins the election is tied to the fellows who gave him the money to buy your votes. That is why you have seen many political parties win while you have never won. The only way in which your votes can count to diminish your hardships is by not being sold, so that the party that triumphs shall not owe anyone except you."[28] The Popular Party estimates some 40,000 copies of the Catechism were distributed throughout Puerto Rico. The Catechism was read to groups of jíbaros in town squares, markets, and in homes throughout the island.

Another journalistic method of saturation was the publication of a campaign newspaper, *El Batey*, named for the small area near the jíbaro's home where he drank coffee and talked with his friends. Whenever he found time and money to publish an issue, Muñoz discussed vote-selling, land reforms, health care, and distributed *El Batey* free to the people. Muñoz recalls one dialogue concerning vote-buying that was reprinted in 300,000 copies of *El Batey*. The sugar workers in Santa Isabel on the south of the island were employed by the Aguirre Sugar Company. The year was 1939 and a minimum wage of seventy-five cents per hour had been in effect in the United States, and the rate was applicable in Puerto Rico. The sugar workers asked their political leaders if they should be getting the wage, and the politicians insisted that the law was not applicable to the island. The workers sent Muñoz a telegram and he arranged for two Popular Party attorneys to take the issue to court. Rather than contest a case that they were sure to lose, the sugar central paid the minimum wage retroactively. Muñoz acquired the checks and went before a large group of workers. As he dispensed the wages, the following dialogue took place. Calling to their attention that he had won the case as he had promised, Muñoz began:

> I did this for you, and I want you in exchange to do something for me.
> Yes, Don Luis, anything you ask.
> What I ask will be a little difficult for you to do, but I still think you should do it.
> Yes, we'll do anything. We are grateful to you.
> You — how much did you get? How much were they owing you?
> They were owing me eighty-five dollars.
> And you got your money? They paid you what they owed you?
> Yes, Don Luis, they paid me.
> Now tell me this. How much did you get for your vote in the last election?
> They gave me two dollars.
> Who gave you two dollars?
> The candidate.
> Is he a rich man?
> No, he's not a rich man.
> Then where did he get the money?
> He got it from the Aguirre Sugar Mill.
> The Aguirre Sugar Company was stealing eighty-three dollars from you. Your leaders that have been elected with the vote that you sold were telling you, you don't have the right because they got the money from the Aguirre Sugar Company. The Aguirre Sugar Company was saving eighty-three dollars on you alone.
> You, how much did you get?
> I got one hundred and two dollars, Don Luis.
> How much did you get for your vote?
> I got two dollars and fifty cents.
> Do you see what a bad deal you got?[29]

El Batey was written in the simple language of the jíbaro. The paper became so popular that it grew from one to four pages. The circulation grew in proportion to its popularity until it surpassed the circulation of all other insular newspapers combined. With its increase in circulation, *El Batey* performed an unexpected service in that it provided badly needed funds for the campaign. The unique aspect of this method of funding was that many conservative businessmen believed that Muñoz had no chance of winning the election and viewed *El Batey* merely as an excellent advertising medium. Consequently, Muñoz was able to fund his paper and campaign through advertisements purchased by the political opposition. The slogan, "Verguenz contra Dinero" (Self-respect versus Money), penetrated thousands of Puerto Rican homes via *El Batey*, and soon became the key issue of the campaign. Muñoz hoped the jíbaro would choose his self-respect over the two dollars he would be paid for his vote.

As election day drew close, Muñoz took to the radio to continue his fight for voting reform. Muñoz made two pre-election speeches. The first was broadcast on November 3, 1940, and presented a challenge to all who listened. Muñoz began: "I appear before you to close this campaign, which has been carried on not merely to bring triumph to the Popular Democratic Party. This has also been a campaign to mold a real public out of what others would like to make an electoral herd of sheep . . . This part of my work is finished. Now it is up to you!"[30]

Muñoz again stressed the Popular Party's abhorrence of the practice of buying votes. Unequivocally, Muñoz Marín stated the Popular policy: "The Popular Democratic Party makes it clear that it does not buy men, it does not buy votes, and he who, calling himself a Popular, is thinking of selling his vote to the Popular Democratic Party — and I say this clearly and finally, forty-eight hours before the election — should immediately withdraw from the Popular Democratic Party, because this is not a party of animals for sale; this is a party of burdened men and women who know how to defend, as creatures of God, the justice that God wishes they should have in their passage through this life."[31]

On the night before the election, Muñoz again spoke to the radio audience. In an emotional voice, Muñoz stressed the need for honesty and declared that dignity might be gained from not being corrupted. Muñoz exhorted: "Let no one stop you from voting! If it rains, remember that the hunger of your entire future is worse than one day's rain. If the rivers rise, remember that the injustice of a lifetime is a current worse than the waters of the rivers of Puerto Rico for a day. If you have no clean change of clothes to wear to the booth, come in your work clothes — there is your future! With your votes you are working for your future. It is not a holiday; it is the most serious day of work since you were born."[32]

As the election returns were announced, it became apparent that the jíbaros had not sold their votes. Muñoz Marín assumed active control of the Senate as its president. The idealist who had taken the time to listen to the masses of poor men and women had achieved the third most powerful position in the Puerto Rican government. Muñoz was able to pass the legislative reforms promised in the campaign. Rhetorically, the situation also changed. According to Muñoz: "When the Popular Democratic Party came into power, such a translation of oratory into legislation, legislation into history, occurred that the whole tone changed."[33] Shortly after his election victory, Muñoz Marín and the PDP embarked on a program of political reformation that led to the conceptualization and establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The previous sections have suggested a critical paradigm which incorporated both situational and cultural dimensions, and employed that model in criticizing the 1940 Puerto Rican campaign. This section will attempt to evaluate the utility of the situational-cultural model presented and suggest some perceptions and implications for future research.

In previous research, the author employed a situational-strategic analysis of the 1940 campaign without extensive analysis of the cultural patterns of the jíbaro and Muñoz Marín.[34] In general, the framework was adequate, and the evaluation of the rhetorical effectiveness of Muñoz was similar to the present study. The previous study also concluded that he was effective as a leader, successfully achieved modifications in the status quo by employing unique rhetorical strategies, and benefited from a series of events, from personal characteristics, and from the U. S. occupation of Puerto Rico. While this study noted several social scientists who suggested that Muñoz Marín was a political opportunist and overrated as a leader, these claims were shown to lack validity, given the data and analysis.

Accepting the general utility of a situational-strategic model of criticism, the present study added the concept of cultural patterns to the structure. Analyzing the campaign culturally, has provided additional insight and a somewhat different conclusion. It cannot be denied that vote-buying was eradicated, that economic domination by the sugar centrals was reduced, and that the style and content of political oratory was significantly changed. These were economic and political issues which were dramatically modified by Muñoz and the PDP. However, if one looks at the cultural dimensions, the claims that Muñoz began a cultural revolution may be seriously questioned.

In order to be successful in the 1940 campaign, Muñoz had to diminish the political power of the sugar centrals over the masses. Unless the vote-buying tradition could be stopped, the PDP had no chance of success. Because personalism, the tendency to put power into the hands of a person because he was identified with the patterns and aspirations of his followers, was common in Latin American politics, Muñoz had to identify with the nature of the jíbaro and convince him that he could receive political and social justice through Muñoz and the PDP. During the period 1938-40, Muñoz was able to develop a high level of personal identification with the masses through rhetoric designed to maximize the similarity between Muñoz Marín's position and the cultural patterns of the jíbaros. He reinforced the jíbaro's skepticism, personal dignity, masculinity, warmth, and concern for others, through his speaking and actions. So pervasive was his influence that many have argued that the people gave Muñoz what he wanted without consideration of its merit. Gordon K. Lewis is typical of those who feel that the figure of Muñoz as a leader is exaggerated. "For the truth is that, since his first great campaign of 1938, Muñoz has not so much led his people as followed their major prejudices."[35] There is something to be said for Lewis' contention that in Puerto Rico "the 'people' may just as easily want what they get, as get what they want."[36]

Generally, Muñoz Marín was able to satisfy the rhetorical issues demanded by the rhetorical situation. His widespread, popular identification with the masses created what Muñoz called the "people's mandate." In effect, it meant whatever Don Luis asked for he got, not based on practical reasoning, but on personal loyalty. This attribution of great power assisted Muñoz immeasurably in his program of political and economic modernization.

While economic and political reforms are evident, culturally Muñoz did little to change the status quo. Although Muñoz urged the jíbaro to vote for principles rather than personal traits, the principles he articulated were economic and political. Muñoz never argued against the concept of personalism. Certainly, he urged honesty, justice, and reform, but his major strategies were based on his ability to achieve personal identification with the jíbaro. The effectiveness of this campaign and the others which followed was vested in a fundamental cultural moré which received scant attention and was not modified.

The combination of cultural patterns in a situational-strategic critical design permits an interpretation that was not available in the situational-strategic model alone. It appears Muñoz capitalized on his ability to manipulate a fundamental cultural pattern for his benefit. While this implies that Muñoz used the politics of personalism to create policy that was politically expedient, and at the same time satisfying to the people, it seems more accurate to suggest that Muñoz used his personal identification with the jíbaros to institute what he considered the most practical policies for their benefit. A. J. Jaffe's assessment of the relationship between Muñoz and the people seems most reasonable: "For the most part, the people and their political leaders have stimulated each other, in what may be thought of as a feedback system. The undirected actions and attitudes — the very wishes of the people — were channeled along lines believed conducive to economic growth, and the elected government officials both directed these popular attitudes and assumed the task of achieving the promised growth."[37]

While this is only an initial attempt at evaluating existing critical designs for intercultural analysis, it is appropriate to suggest that frameworks which do not incorporate discussions of cultural patterns are capable of generating potentially incomplete analysis. Such was the case with Muñoz Marín and the campaign of 1940. Similarly, a recent paper employing traditional critical methods concluded that Reyes Lopez Tíjarena was profoundly ineffective in the New Mexico land grants issue.[38] Had the author evaluated the cultural dimensions of the discourse, a far different conclusion may have been generated, including extremely positive evaluations in the promotion of racial solidarity, self-concept, and political activism for Chicanos.

The present study has suggested what appears to be a productive direction for analysis of intercultural rhetorical events. What is apparent is the need for either modification of procedures to incorporate cultural dimensions, or the development of new and more innovative approaches.

NOTES

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[17] Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 154.

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[25] Gustavo Agrait, Sr., interview conducted by William G. Davey at Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, January 5, 1973.

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EFFECTS OF CULTURAL FACTORS ON MASS COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

STANLEY E. SMITH

This study explores the relationship between different cultures and mass communication systems. The author contends that cultural factors, either unique in themselves or combining to produce unique cultural patterns, are significant determiners of the way in which the mass communication systems of particular countries develop, and predispose these systems to exhibit certain identifiable characteristics. Using the case study approach, the author cites specific cultural variables in the USA, USSR and Egypt, and demonstrates how they have produced unique systems and practices of mass communication in those countries. The implication is that international and intercultural communication can be improved by interpreting and assessing communications from different nations or particular culture areas within the context of their cultural heritage.

While volumes have been written about the effects of mass communication upon culture, comparatively little attention has been paid to the converse: the effects of cultural variables upon the development of mass communication systems. We are aware that the mass media in different nations exhibit certain distinctive qualities, which are usually attributed to political orientation, or to the current stage of social, economic, and political development. Are these adequate to explain why the complete Watergate experience could probably have occurred only in the U.S.A.? Can they account for certain peculiarities of the Soviet press, or of the media in an Arab country? Can we really interpret the communications of a nation without knowing something of the cultural factors which have influenced them?

This paper will attempt to establish a relationship between cultural factors and the nature of the mass communication system of a particular country. The contention is that cultural factors are significant determiners of the way in which a mass communication system develops, and predispose it to exhibit certain characteristics. This does not mean to imply that other factors, such as foreign mass media practices and technology, do not also influence development. However, these latter are more or less shared by all nations, and tend to produce conformity, while we are interested here only in those internal aspects which may have produced significant differences.

METHODOLOGY

It should be stated at the outset that the methods employed in this study impose certain limitations. First, only three nations were selected as examples, and these were not selected at random. Rather, they were consciously chosen by the writer because they represent contrasting cultures which provide good examples for demonstrating the main thesis of the paper, and they reflect the personal interest and direct experience of the writer. Second, the cultural factors selected were only those which are judged by the writer to have a demonstrable influence on the development of the mass media of the respective countries. Third, the research method employed here was the case study approach, utilizing careful personal observation over a period of many years, combined with a search of the relevant literature.

A larger number of countries and a more exhaustive list of cultural variables could have been tested more systematically. More refined research methods, including content analysis, might have produced more scientifically valid conclusions. These might be employed in future research. It is, in fact, the intent of this study to present, within the space permitted, a thesis sufficiently developed and supported by evidence to warrant such further serious investigation.

By "cultural variables" or "cultural factors" we refer to customs, beliefs, attitudes, and value systems of a people which are manifested in distinctive patterns of thought, language, and behavior. It should be pointed out that in the cases discussed in this paper, some of the cultural variables cited may not be unique to that particular country. It is not necessary that they be unique to exert a significant influence. What is important to consider is the degree to which a certain factor is present relative to other factors in the general cultural pattern. Naturally, not all cultural factors in all of the subject countries can be evaluated. Therefore, what we have sought to do in this paper is to select three countries with widely divergent cultures, i.e., the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Egypt, and then concentrate on a few dominant cultural variables in each country which can account for certain distinctive characteristics in its system of mass communication.

RELATED STUDIES

Other writers have given us a basis for predicting and characterizing the mass communications systems of certain countries in general terms. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm[1] have placed various press philosophies into categories derived from broad political outlines: authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet Communist, and social responsibility. Namurois[2] grouped media systems according to the nature of their control, which again reflects political orientation. While these classifications enable us to interpret the content of the media of a certain country to a certain degree, they do not tell us enough about a particular nation's media because they treat cultural factors superficially. This is not intended as a negative criticism, for their purpose was to reduce complex systems to elements which could be more easily analyzed and compared, and as always in such cases, something is lost as something else is gained.

Other researchers have also sought to generalize from the particular, either attempting to trace media development linearly (Merrill and Lowenstein[3]), or in terms of modernization and national development (Lerner[4], Schramm[5]). More conscious approaches to the effects of cultural factors on the development of mass media systems have been made by Nixon[6] and Gillmor[7], who studied the relationship of certain variables, among them religion, with the amount of press freedom existent in a nation. This relationship was further explored by Lipset[8], who suggested that Catholicism, because of its rejection of other ideologies, is incompatible with the idea of political democracy, which would, of course, affect the degree of press freedom. Farace and Donohew[9] studied the effects of 43 cultural, political, and demographic variables on 115 national mass communication systems, but their emphasis was on the predictability of the level of development of media systems, rather than a qualitative assessment.

All of these studies are useful as generalizations, and they do have some applications in the area of international and intercultural communication. We can now predict, for example, that a poor and largely illiterate nation with a high population growth rate is likely to have little press freedom, and we can interpret its communications accordingly. However, there are finer qualitative distinctions which much be recognized and understood before mass communications between different cultures can become effective. In other words, existing research in this area has been inadequate, as far as generating greater understanding between nations of divergent cultures is concerned. It would appear that generalization has been carried far enough: if we are to communicate more effectively between nations, we need to refine our studies, directing them more deeply into individual cultures. This paper is intended to be a step in that direction.

THREE CASES

To address this in its broadest terms, we often notice that the press of a particular nation has some distinctive quality, frequently a quality which we in the West regard negatively. For example, the prevalent Western view of the Arab media is that they tend to be exaggerated and bombastic, which leads to low credibility. If we knew the origin or reason for this tendency, we would be more likely to make intelligent interpretations. Likewise, Westerners are often appalled at the seeming lack of logic in the utterances of the Soviet press. Is this the result of conscious prevarication, or is it rooted in something deeper?

If these characteristics appear difficult for us to understand, consider a Third World citizen who had never experienced political or press freedom when he/she was confronted with the Watergate phenomenon, a situation in which the media were largely responsible for the removal of the world's most powerful leader. During the Watergate period, the writer lectured to three groups of Third World journalists who had been perplexed until the cultural heritage of the American journalist had been traced for them. For indeed, the American journalist is unique among journalists in the world, just as are her/his counterparts in the Soviet Union and Egypt. They are all products of their particular cultures, and we can understand their functions and practices only if we understand something of the cultural influences which molded their thoughts and behavior.

The U.S.A.

Some of the most obvious traits of contemporary American society can be traced to its birth in the early 17th Century. This had been shown by countless other authors, but it would be well to recapitulate here, for some of them have had a profound influence on the philosophy and practice of the American mass media. Mobility is a prime example. Americans were born mobile, for the very nature of colonization presupposes mobility, both physical and psychic. As Lerner points out, mobility is the first step in the modernization process.[10] Mobility created a need for early American settlers to communicate, not only to maintain their economic, cultural, and personal ties with their homeland, but also to share knowledge and experiences with inhabitants of other colonies. This gave them a feeling of security in a sometimes hostile environment, and later against a common enemy.

Mobility continued to be a strong American trait. It became almost an obsession with them as they pressed westward, and Americans are still the most mobile people on earth. This has multiplied their need for information, and has forged an intricate communications network. However, as the channels in this network became longer, the characteristics of the communications changed. Speed became vitally important, and with it, messages became briefer and more concise. This penchant for speed is perhaps best illustrated by the Pony Express, or by the keen competition to secure the first information from the ships arriving in New York Harbor, a development which eventually led to the establishment of the Associated Press.

Perhaps even stronger than the trait of mobility, however, was that of independence, or even outright rebelliousness. A large proportion of the early settlers of America were fugitives from tyranny, or "protestants," in more than one sense of the word. Others were adventurers with an independent turn of mind, and even prisoners, outcasts of their native societies. It would seem that a natural screening process had produced a population which was largely independent, self-sufficient, and suspicious of authority.

This was reflected in the drafting of the Constitution. The American people made the government for themselves: not to impose authority over them, but to guarantee that no authority would become so strong as to deprive them of their "inalienable" rights. They felt that the government was theirs, not that they were the government's. This is a feeling which persists today, despite the apparent expansion of executive power.

Their individual freedoms were further assured in the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly. It is significant that this was the *first* amendment, for they had already seen the power of the printed word in the pamphlets of Thomas Paine and other revolutionaries. Along with this power of the press came not only the right, but the responsibility, to speak up, to make themselves heard. From the earliest days, Americans spoke up in meetings, in church services, in town councils. When society became too complex for their voices to be heard personally, they spoke through their elected representatives, or significantly, the press, a proven ally.

The press accepted this role as representative and defender of the people, and expanded it. It not only provided them with a sense of power, but it proved profitable as well, as illustrated by the crusades of Joseph Pulitzer and others through their newspapers and journals. American journalists, who became a more distinctive breed than in other countries, were not content merely to observe and report. Why? First, they were suspicious of authority, which we have discussed. Second, they were influenced by the Puritan ethic, which meant hard work, self-sufficiency, self-denial, and adherence to a strict moral code. Along with this moral code came a perhaps obsessive tendency to ferret out wrong-doing, which manifested itself early in the the Salem witch hunts. Perhaps it would not be making too broad an assumption to suggest that this tendency has influenced the American press to pursue investigative journalism to an extraordinary degree, with the muckraking era, Viet Nam, and Watergate serving as milestones along this path.

There have been many other cultural influences on the development of the mass media in the U.S.A., but perhaps these will suffice to make the point. There is, however, one remaining cultural characteristic which, although important, is frequently overlooked: the drive toward conformity, to "Americanism," to the "American way." Probably no other major nation on earth has been formed of so many diverse cultures, yet has become so culturally homogeneous. Language, dress, values, food, music, and life styles are basically the same throughout its vast area. Its homogeneity can be appreciated when comparing it with Red China, the U.S.S.R., Brazil, India, and Canada. Even the much smaller and older nations of eastern and western Europe are far more heterogeneous. This, along with mass production and advertising, has been a tremendous catalyst to the development of mass communication. The drive to conform has had other effects as well. While most industrialized nations have several political parties with widely divergent philosophies, there are, for all practical purposes, only two political parties in the U.S.A. Furthermore, it is next to impossible to distinguish the goals and philosophies of one from the other. This is of course reflected in the American media, for although there are differences of opinion there is usually basic agreement on the major issues, particularly when it comes to a question of authority stepping on the collective toes of individuals. Should the media's role in Watergate, then, have been a surprise?

The U.S.S.R.

A similar case can be made for the U.S.S.R. The popular conception is that the Soviet system of mass communication was created in the minds of Marx and Lenin and forced upon the populace as a new phenomenon. This may have been true in one or more of the East European states, where the communist system was superimposed upon a relatively democratic society at the end of World War II, but the Soviet system of mass communication was not brought on by a revolution, any more than the American system developed out of any particular event. It is the product of evolution: a natural consequence of Russian cultural history.

This is not to say that the principles of Marxism and Leninism were not compatible with Russian thought at the time: they were eminently compatible. What should be made clear, however, is that no matter whether the Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, or any other party predominated, or for that matter, whether the tsarist regime had been reconstituted, the Soviet mass communication system would have exhibited many of the same characteristics. Just as it is impossible for foreigners to understand Watergate without some acquaintance with American cultural history, the Soviet communist press model is equally incomprehensible without some knowledge of the cultural development of Russia.

Probably the only parallel between Russian and American media development was the emergence of journals of literature and opinion in the 18th Century. From there, the divergence becomes wide and rapid. For while in America these journals were largely superseded in the late 18th and early 19th centuries by the more popular medium, the newspaper, the journal of literature and opinion remained the main type of publication in Russia during that time. Despite its seemingly limited popularity, the journal played a major part in the social, political, and cultural development of the Russian nation, and it laid the groundwork for the principles and practices of the Soviet mass communication system.

The first educational reforms, if they could be so termed, were brought to Russia in the early 18th Century by Peter the Great. His efforts to bring learning and sophistication from western Europe created the basis for the development of an educated elite: an intelligentsia. By the time Alexander assumed reign in 1801, there was a wide and deep chasm between the very small minority of educated citizens and the ignorant and illiterate masses, with nothing resembling a middle class to fill the gap. Under these circumstances, true mass media could not develop as they did in the U.S.A., particularly during the populist era of the 1820s and 1830s. However, the literary, political, and philosophical journals thrived under these circumstances, growing both in number and influence.

There were several reasons for their remarkable growth. First, they were used by the liberals to fan the spark generated by the French revolution into a flame of yearning for greater freedom. Then the defeat of Napoleon by the Russians added the dry tinder of nationalism. Some Russian intellectuals were quick to adopt the ideas of the French socialist writers — Prudhon, Saint Simon, and Fournier — and these became woven into the fabric of Russian political thought.

Nationalism also spawned a second group of intellectuals: those who wanted to return to the old Muscovite traditions, the Orthodox church, and the rural patriarchal system. In fact, they rejected everything Western, except the new German Idealism. The dialectic approach of Hegel and Schelling appealed particularly to the Russian mentality. Tompkins writes: "It made no great demands by way of objectivity or painful accumulation of facts; the mind could leap to all-embracing theories which would light up the universe."[11]

This conflict of interests led to a great polemic in the journals representing the two intellectual groups, and the stronger the conflict grew, the more seeming justification there was for stretching or circumventing the objective truth in order to present their arguments. These groups were not only fighting one another, but both were engaged in a bitter conflict with the government. Tsar Nikolas had instituted his Iron Code of censorship, under which journals were suppressed, and writers and editors jailed, declared insane, or exiled.

Nikolas went even further. He attempted to use the press, such as it was, as an instrument of state policy; that is, an instrument for developing "proper" attitudes and beliefs, and for instructing "proper" behavior. This implied, as all effective propaganda systems must, that all contrary or questionable ideas or information must be suppressed. Even some of Russia's greatest literary figures were subjected to censorship and persecution. Pushkin was censored for his "Ode to Liberty." Gogol's "Dead Souls" was banned, and Dostoevsky was sentenced to the firing squad. Fortunately for literary history, the Tsar commuted Dostoevsky's sentence at the last moment and sent him instead to four years of hard labor in Siberia, to be followed by military service. This led to his publication of "The House of the Dead," a striking parallel to Solzhenitsyn's "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich."

In order to foil the censors, writers and editors wrote in an "Aesopian" language, using implications between the lines, mythological or allegorical references, disguised identities, circumlocutions, and other devices. ". . . the writer, as if he were a thief, used any artifice to get his thought to the public between the lines," wrote Pares.[12] Lev Tikhomirov, a member of the executive committee of the revolutionary group Narodya Volya, returned after an eight-year absence from Russia, and wrote that in deciphering this "Russian cuneiform script, Beelzebub himself would break a leg."[13] This subterfuge was especially necessary after the European revolutions of 1848 frightened Nikolas into his "Reign of Terror," under which censorship became even more oppressive. Despite this, the period produced such literary greats as Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Lermontov, and Tolstoy. However, it also produced other giants who, although less known, effected an equally profound influence upon Russian literature, the press, and the entire course of Russian history.

One was V. G. Belinsky, a liberal editor who made some of his greatest contributions as a literary critic, and who as such condemned art for art's sake. "In our time, more than ever before," he wrote in 1847, "art and literature reflect the social issues. To deny art the right to serve the interests of society is not to raise, but to lower it, because this is to deprive it of its vitality; that is, to make it the subject of some Sybaritic pleasure, a toy for idle loafers."[14] Belinsky had a deep influence on contemporary writers, and set many bases for modern Soviet literary criticism.

Another was Alexander Herzen, whose journal "Kolokol," edited in exile in London, has been called by historians the most important journal in Russian history. He expanded on Belinsky's literary philosophy, and pressed his socialist views to the extent that he became known as "the founding father of Russian socialism and political radicalism."

There were many others whose names need not be cited here. The point is that they were all writers and editors for opinion journals — even G. V. Plekhanov, the founder of orthodox Marxism in Russia, and V. I. Ulianov, who later became known as Lenin. As time wore on, revolutionary thought expanded, radicalism bloomed, censorship and oppression became a way of life, and terrorism, shocking even by today's standards, thrived. Much of this was instigated by the journals.

Meanwhile, the masses remained ignorant and uneducated, and a middle class, as it existed in the West, still had not developed by 1917. The conditions which had led to the development of a mass communication system in the U.S.A. nearly a century before still did not exist in Russia. The rulers realized, however, that a mass communication system must be established in order to consolidate and perpetuate their power. Therefore, they imposed a system on the masses, much in the same manner as Nikolas, who had attempted to direct the thoughts and behavior of his subjects. When Lenin founded his national newspaper, "Iskra," he saw it as a vehicle of propaganda and agitation, and a "collective organizer,"[15] a structure which would hold together all ranks of communist organization. This, of course, became the model for all Soviet newspapers, which means that Soviet readers have never experienced anything different. It should be borne in mind, however, that this did not come about as a direct manifestation of Marxist ideas, but as a consequence of existing conditions: a legacy of Russian culture.

Let us recapitulate this cultural legacy, which is reflected in the nature of the Soviet mass communication system today. One characteristic is the practice of censorship. Although writers and editors abhorred it, they learned to live with it, either circumventing it, tolerating it, or defying it and suffering the consequences. Just as it has become a normal burden of their profession, it has become a fact of life for the reader.

The Russian reader also had to develop an agile mind to cope with the device the writers created in the 1830s and continued: the Aesopian language. This is not only used frequently today in clandestine publications, but one might also hypothesize that this tendency is responsible for the Soviet practice of burying news of an important policy change in the body of a lengthy discourse, so that it takes a very careful examination by a knowledgeable reader to uncover it. Similarly, changes in the Soviet hierarchy are often noted before an official announcement by an appearance or non-appearance in a photograph, or list of names.

A tradition positively identified as an influence on later times is the functional use of literature to express social themes. This made it easy for Lenin to change literature from a vehicle for social and political expression by and for intellectuals into an instrument for furthering government aims and policies. Even today, writers who stray too far from this line soon find themselves in trouble. Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn are but two of many who have been severely criticised or punished. By the same token, journalists are to be imbued with the qualities of "partiinost" (party orientation), and "visokaya ideinost" (a high level of Marxist-Leninist ideology), which must be demonstrated in their writing. Objectivity, as the West understands it, is not mentioned as a desirable quality, although truth is; but again, truth must be judged within the context of the accepted ideology.

The reason for the omission of objectivity is obvious when one considers another aspect of Russian cultural legacy: the Russian mentality. Probably as a result of the continual battle with the censors, the bitter and prolonged polemics with their political rivals and the influence of dialectical philosophy, the intellectuals, including journalists, never developed a real sense of objectivity. In 1890, E. J. Dillon, who was the St. Petersburg correspondent for the London "Daily Telegraph," wrote in "The Fortnightly Review" that the Russians "lack that reverence for facts that lies at the root of the Anglo-Saxon character. A Russian can no more bow to a fact, acknowledging it as final and decisive, than he can to a . . . mere opinion founded upon insufficient or no grounds; he is ever ready to act in defiance of it."[16]

Markham points out that "Russian journalism generally was not objective and independent, but frankly and sometimes even brutally partisan. In the Russian journalist's ethical code, if he/she had one, there was no dedication to the public weal, no feeling of responsibility to society, no respect for fair play or for standards of truth based on scientific or empirical tests."[17]

Similarly, Tompkins states that because of pressure on writers and journalists in Russia, journalism "never petended to be anything but partisan, and the Russian journalist was not bound to observe the ordinary standards of veracity and fair play."[18] The Russian press used any method at all, he said, except the objective presentation of facts, "including sneering at the naivete of anyone who doubts their statements or does not accept their argument, and casting suspicion on their opponents and their sources of information." Tompkins summarized the two predominating characteristics of Russian thought as (1) "a preocupation with theory to the exclusion of facts, and (2) the acceptance as a fixed point in thought of some concept arrived at (usually in someone else's mind) intuitively." Perhaps it should be pointed out that these were tendencies which were observed, and they cannot be ascribed universally within a particular culture.

With a knowledge of this background, a statement such as this which appeared in a 1960 Communist Party resolution on propaganda is hardly surprising: "It is necessary to rally around every newspaper and magazine gifted publicists and propagandists, skillful popularizers of revolutionary theory, able to respond in an operative manner to burning questions with vivid and striking writing in the press."[19] It is merely an extension of the Russian cultural legacy, exploited and refined into an effective instrument by the Soviet regime.

Egypt

A case for the influence of culture patterns on the mass communication systems of many of the Arab nations can also be made. While there are cultural differences between the Arab countries, most of them do share a strong cultural heritage. We shall center our observations on Egypt in this paper, but the cultural variables cited here have also been present in other Arab lands.

The overriding cultural influence of the Arabs is the religion of Islam, characterized as rigidly authoritarian. Dean refers to it as an "integration of religion, political system, way of life, and the interpretation of history" in which "every activity down to the smallest detail is regulated by Koranic prescriptions."[20] This authoritarian pervasiveness has remained a constant throughout Islamic history. For, according to Dean, the Muslims have "never experienced a process of intellectual change comparable to the Reformation in Europe." It is extremely difficult to effect any changes in the Arab countries without the support of the ulema, or priest, who interprets the Koran, and who is usually determinedly conservative. When major changes do take place, they are usually brought about by strong military rulers. However, although an institution may change, the authoritarianism remains. Under these circumstances, it would be extremely unlikely to find a mass communication system with any appreciable degree of freedom.

Egypt has proven no exception. Although it has been subject to western influence through British and French control, it has had a tradition of strict press control, except during transitional periods when power had not yet been firmly established. This was the case after the abdication of King Farouk, when the press became very active in the nationalist struggle. However, in 1960 President Nasser put all the print media under the control of the Arab Socialist Union, the only political party allowed to exist. President Anwar Sadat decreed press freedom some time after the October War, but press control still remains through various government pressures.

The press has exerted a very strong influence over the Egyptian populace: perhaps a surprising fact in view of an illiteracy rate in 1973 of 74%. Even in the 1920s, when the country was 98% illiterate and the newspapers were primarily party organs largely devoted to political propaganda,[21] the press held considerable sway over the people.[22] This is made possible by what became known in 1940 as the Two-Step Flow of Information Theory,[23] combined with an oral tradition which perhaps knows no equal.

The powerful oral tradition of the Arabs reaches far back into history, far beyond the 13th Century, when Islam reached its intellectual peak, only to be dragged down under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. It reaches beyond the Koran, the oldest Arab book, which was committed to writing between 644 and 656. It had its roots in poetry, much of it composed between 500 and 622 A.D. Poetry was the sole means of literary expression, and it took a powerful hold on the Arab people. "It was in the life of the people," Laffin writes, ". . . it moulded their minds and fixed their characters and made them morally and spiritually a nation long before Mohammed welded the various conflicting groups into a single organism."[24]

Every tribe had a poet, who became a personage of some distinction. Ibn Rashiq[25] wrote that the Arabs wished one another joy but for three things: "the birth of a boy, the coming to light of a poet, and the foaling of a noble mare." The poets did much themselves to promote their own esteem. Their poetry glorified the bards themselves, their families, and their tribes. Much of it was vainglorious, according to Laffin, "..... proclaiming valor and brilliant feats, full of menaces and challenges."[26] Bloody revenge and contempt for death was common, with the hero always defiant and boastful. There was no concern about facts or "truth." The Syrian poet Abu 'l'Ala wrote in the 11th Century:

> "I lift my voice to utter lies absurd,
> For when I speak the truth, my hushed tones
> scarce are heard."

As the culture richened and then declined for centuries under Ottoman rule, the poetry remained the same, clinging to the great models of the Heroic Age. No modern bard would presume, or hope, to emulate such perfection. That is, the form and themes did not change, nor the classics themselves, but the technique is adapted to contemporary situations. Poetry today, as it was 1300 years ago, is a part of everyday life. "People improvise it by way of a pastime," says Laffin, ". . . or quote it as a means of communication."[27]

Wynn cited a modern example of Arab epic poetry which he heard in Yemen after the first Suez War in 1957, when minstrels were chanting tales of their contemporary epic hero, Gamal Abdel Nasser. They told how the great Gamal ". . . stood on the beaches of Port Said and plucked the British and French planes out of the sky and hurled them into the sea."[28] Whether the listeners literally believed it was not important. It was something they wanted to hear; it created a mood, and built up the stature of the man they needed as their hero.

This tradition of poetry has had the effect of placing great value upon verbal dexterity. The French-Arab scholar Jacques Berque remarked, in speaking of the Middle East, that the Oriental prefers words to action because he/she has not yet mastered the world of things.[29] Other Arab scholars, however, point out an even greater emphasis on words. Hourani says that Arabs are more conscious of their language than any people in the world. "Language itself is an *act,*" he says. "Even more, by saying that something is so, it *is* so. For instance, to say an enemy is a murderer brings instant conviction that the man is a murderer; no proof is required. To claim to have inflicted heavy military losses on an enemy makes this a fact, even if no military action whatever took place."[30]

Such was the case when the Egyptians claimed in the press, following their defeat in the Six Day War, that British and American aircraft had supported the Israeli Air Force. This wasn't literally true, but the Egyptians felt that in general the U.S.A. and Great Britain had given more help and sympathy to the Israelis, so this was the metaphoric truth. The precise facts were relatively unimportant.

The rationale for such a statement is explained by Gibb: "The medium in which the aesthetic feelings of the Arabs is mainly (though not exclusively) expressed is that of words and language — upon the Arab mind the impact of artistic speech is immediate; the words, passing through no filter of logic or reflection, which might weaken or deaden the effect, go straight to the head."[31] Karpat supports this: "The most frequent form of persuasion in the Middle East," he says, ". . . is to appeal to the emotional and the personal, rather than to logical reasoning."[32]

Nasser was well aware of the effect of language in the Arab world when he developed radio into a powerful instrument to unite Egypt and all of the Arabs. He launched "The Voice of the Arabs" in 1953 with a tremendous expansion program, and adopted a style of language which would be most effective in stirring and uniting Arab sentiment. Combined of elements of colloquial and classic Arabic, this "neo-classic" Arabic possessed ". . . vagueness, rich grammar, and repetitive style" which facilitated exaggeration and the painting of vivid mental images.[33] Nasser's revolutionary program via the airways produced remarkable results during the next decade. However, the rhetorical excesses tended to backfire after the Six Day War in 1957, when the government was severely criticized for misleading the Egyptian people, and the broadcasting administration was re-shuffled. Since then, there have also been changes in the printed press, but the cultural influence of language still has an effect in Egypt as in other Arab countries.

CONCLUSIONS

Although we have not listed and evaluated in each case all of the cultural variables which might possibly have influenced the nature and practices of the respective mass communication systems, we have shown how some of them had a profound effect. As pointed out earlier, the cited cultural variables may not be unique to a particular country, but taken as weighted factors in the overall cultural orientation, they combine to produce a set of patterns that are unique, and tend to produce unique sytems of mass communication. This has been obvious in examining such diverse cultures as exist in the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Egypt. The same holds true in such similar cultures as those in the U.S.A. and Great Britain. Here, in addition to some unique cultural factors, there are a multitude of common ones, both of which are weighted and combined in different ways to produce marked differences in the characteristics of the press in these countries. The American press tends to be more investigative, crusading and homogeneous, and views its role as providing an extra-legal check on the government. The British press is more varied, with class distinctions and wider political divergencies, and views itself as either supportive of government or as "loyal opposition."

The conclusion, then, seems to be clear: culture has a decided effect upon the development of mass communication, producing distinctive characteristics within the various national systems, even with their advent into the current "communications explosion." What are the implications?

IMPLICATIONS

The most obvious implication is that communication from all nations or particular culture areas ideally should be interpreted and assessed within the context of their cultural heritage. The word "ideally" is used because it would be impossible to do so, except when dealing with a relatively small group of nations with different cultural backgrounds. On a broad international basis, however, it would be virtually impossible for any person or agency to be so knowledgeable. What hope is there, then, for better international and intercultural understanding, when our world-wide communications are dependent upon a handful of agencies largely dictated to by commercial considerations, including speed?

There is some hope, first, if the operatives of the major international media organizations are made fully aware of the effects of cultural differences upon the treatment of information. Some correspondents are thoroughly familiar with this phenomenon, and make intelligent interpretations and adjustments. Others, however, are not as well-versed in the cultures of the nations from which they may only occasionally be reporting, with the result that they can contribute to conflict and confusion rather than to enlightenment. Media directors and editors should make a conscious effort to overcome this lack, both in themselves and with their correspondents. Some already have, and should be duly credited; too many do not.

Second, information and media directors in non-Western nations should be aware of the nature and needs of the Western-dominated international information networks. The concept of a "global village" is already a reality, and a national leader can no longer make a statement for local consumption only, nor can national agencies make use of references or rhetorical devices which may be misinterpreted out of the local cultural context.

The motivation for taking these steps will probably not come from within; they may have to be proposed and stimulated through an international organization or agency. Such a program was undertaken in Beirut in 1972 by the Association for International Communication Seminars, a non-profit organization based in Zurich, Switzerland, established to promote the discussion of problems in international communication by appropriate media editors and directors, government officials and other communication experts. The Beirut Seminar on East-West Communication convened leading Western and Arab media and government representatives in an attempt to improve both the amount and quality of information flowing from the Middle East, primarily from the Arab countries. The problem concerned complaints by the Arabs that the Western media, because of a lack of knowledge of, and appreciation for, Arab culture, plus a bias resulting from a closer cultural proximity with Israel, either ignored or distorted news of their countries. Western media personnel, on the other hand, had complained that the Arabs issued false or exaggerated statements and engaged in unreasonable censorship and news management.

While the Beirut Seminar, which was supported through a grant from the Ford Foundation and organized and directed by this writer, produced no miracles, it did have some positive results. Some of them involved media policies. For example, an end to the practice of forbidding entry into an Arab country by a correspondent who had an Israeli stamp in her/his passport. Others involved mass communication practice. Egyptian officials who attended the conference, including Ahmed Baha El Din, press spokesman for President Anwar Sadat, subsequently reported that they were attempting to correct the weaknesses which the Western experts had pointed out, and the change was strikingly evident during the October War in 1973. Western correspondents reported that in comparison with their performance in the Six Day Way, Egyptian information officials were far more cooperative in providing access to news and facilities, and provided far more accurate and straightforward information than previously.

On the other hand, many of the Western media representatives became more aware of the need to provide their constituencies with more complete background information in order to put the news into a more balanced context. The most outstanding example of an attempt to fulfill this need was a special 8-page section in the February 18, 1974 issue of the international edition of NEWSWEEK on Arab culture and its contribution to the West. The editor of the magazine had attended the Beirut Seminar, and subsequently served on a committee selected to pursue recommendations made in the final session. Such acts can do much to break down international and intercultural misunderstandings.

There is strong evidence to support the contention that the nature and practices of mass communication systems in different nations are influenced, sometimes to a major degree, by the unique cultural development of those nations. The characteristics produced by this cultural development may seldom be obvious, or they may be attributed to other influences. It behooves us to examine cultural influences more thoroughly in order to interpret more intelligently the communications of another nation, particularly one in which the cultural heritage is significantly different from our own. Experience has shown that an awareness of these differences, and a conscientious approach to the dissemination of information across cultures, can contribute to better international and intercultural communication and understanding.

NOTES

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CAREER PREPARATION IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

LARRY A. SAMOVAR and AL R. WEITZEL

Little is known about the career preparation perspective of intercultural communication. This study reports a survey of 200 institutions which have international dimensions, including private corporations and public agencies. Responses to the mailed questionnaire produced some useful advice for those seeking to prepare themselves for a career related to intercultural communication. Findings related to the types of communication skills needed, the amount and type of education suggested, and the type of "personal characteristics" advisable.

Career preparation is currently a major issue in higher education. Educators are seeking to determine what skills, specific courses and individual attributes are most suited for certain careers. This task seems somewhat easier when one prepares for the traditional roles of teacher, engineer or salesperson. However, when the career training is interdisciplinary in nature, or is for a relatively new area, the identification of an appropriate means for career preparation is more complicated. The study of intercultural communication represents just such a case. It is both diversified and still in its infancy. In addition, increased intercultural contact, brought about by a changing international alignment, new trade relationships, and the ease of travel, have put added demands on people who can offer an intercultural dimension to future employees. In short, both government and private industry are searching for people who have been trained in intercultural relations. But the question remains — what should that training include?

In an effort to understand more about career opportunities in intercultural communication, this study sought to determine: (1) what skills are most important; (2) how much education is needed and in what major areas students should prepare; and (3) how much previous work experience is necessary.

A questionnaire designed to answer the above questions was sent to institutions which have international dimensions. These institutions ranged from private corporations (Eastman Kodak, Du Pont, Prentice-Hall, Inc., etc.) to public agencies such as the Office of Management and Budget, and international associations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers. The sample was drawn from the 300 institutions named in *Career Opportunities in the International Field*;[1] a table of random numbers was used to select 200 institutions. A postage-paid, self-addressed envelope was enclosed with a cover letter which explained that we were assessing the career preparation programs in intercultural communication. Responses were received from 66 institutions for a response rate of 33%.

The questionnaire listed twenty-six attributes which are related to the study of intercultural communication, and respondents were asked to rate each item on a scale of one to five in terms of how useful or necessary it is; thus, a rating of five represented a "very necessary" attribute while a rating of one represented an "unnecessary" attribute. The average (mean) ratings are reported in Table 1 in order of their ranks. Of the top ranked eight attributes, seven are clearly communication skills, while "high personnel stress tolerances" is not an attribute directly related to communication. The communication skills are: the ability to analyze information, problem solving skills, emphathetic and critical listening skills, verbal skills, writing skills, organization skills, and small group leadership skills. Two other communication skills, use of nonverbal codes, and interviewing skills, did not rank high in responses. Business-related skills also did not rank high: familiarity with business procedures ranked twelfth and marketing skills ranked seventeenth.

TABLE 1

RESPONDENTS- RATINGS AND RANKINGS
OF SELECTED ATTRIBUTES

Rank	Mean	Attribute
1	4.7	The ability to analyze information
2	4.6	Problem-solving skills
3	4.5	Empathetic and critical listening skills
4	4.4	Verbal skills
5	4.3	Writing skills
6	4.1	Organization skills
6	4.1	High personal stress tolerances
8	3.9	Small group leadership skills
9	3.6	Sophisticated understanding of United States' values
10	3.5	Sophisticated understanding of the values of a particular culture
10	3.5	High familiarity with the patterns of thought of a particular culture
12	3.4	Ability to understand a foreign language
12	3.4	Sophisticated understanding of the political system of a particular pattern
12	3.4	High familiarity with business procedures
15	3.3	Ability to speak a foreign language
15	3.3	Sophisticated awareness of foreign countries' residents' perceptions of the United States and its citizens
17	3.2	Ability to recognize and utilize nonverbal codes of a particular culture
17	3.2	Interviewing skills
17	3.2	Statistical research skills
17	3.2	Marketing skills
21	3.0	High familiarity with the history of a particular culture
22	2.6	Fluency in more than one foreign language
23	2.3	Extensive prior foreign travel
24	2.2	Sophisticated awareness of the literature of a particular culture
24	2.2	Technical audio-visual skills
26	2.0	High familiarity with the foods of a particular culture

A factor-analysis was conducted in order to determine whether respondents conceptually grouped various attributes together.[2] One factor might be called "culture-specific training," and it is composed of the following attributes for a particular culture: the understanding of a culture's value system, familiarity with patterns of thought of a culture, understanding of political system of a culture, nonverbal codes of a culture, familiarity with history of a culture, and awareness of a culture's literature. It is curious that the use of nonverbal codes was thus related directly to this factor by respondents, rather than being regarded as a distinct communication skill. In any case, the attributes of the culture-specific training received no consistent rankings by respondents; the rankings ranged from tenth through twenty-fourth.

A second factor that emerged as a pattern was composed of foreign language training. Respondents' expectations are apparently not high in this area, as understanding a language was ranked twelfth, and fluency in more than one foreign language was ranked fifteenth and twenty-second.

The remaining attributes were apparently regarded as "miscellaneous" by respondents and most were not regarded as important. They were ranked as: understanding United States' values (ninth), understanding of foreign countries' residents' perceptions of the United States (fifteenth), statistical research skills (seventeenth), extensive prior foreign travel (twenty-third), technical audio-visual skills (twenty-fourth), and familiarity with foods of a particular culture (ranked last).

This data seems to strongly recommend that communication skills would be a very valuable asset for one who seeks employment in foreign locations. Some orientation to such intercultural locations seems desirable, in the judgment of respondents, but specific orientations, such as fluency in a foreign language, do not seem to be essential.

A second portion of the questionnaire focused on the amount of schooling necessary for employment and the most appropriate major areas of study. Answers to these questions were, of course, qualified because the varied type of jobs would demand different preparations. Some general trends were apparent, however. Respondents were asked whether the minimum amount of college education would be one, two, three, or four years for consideration of a potential employee. The average (mean) number for all respondents was 4.0 years. Surprisingly, a number of respondents specified five or six or more years and corresponding college degrees. Thus, students would be well advised to complete a college degree before seeking employment in the intercultural area.

The findings regarding the major areas of study did not reveal any clear cut or consistent patterns. This was due to a large extent to the extremely varied nature of sampled institutions and the types of positions within these. For example, in the case of separate institutions associated with Middle-Eastern commerce, one emphasized the need to major in Middle-Eastern Studies and the other urged emphasis in agricultural preparation; in other instances, as might be expected, Dow Chemical urged preparation in chemical engineering, and the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas urged preparation in biology, mathematics, and statistics. Overall, however, the most frequently recommended major was finance or economics (or accounting) (nineteen mentions). International studies (or politics or law) was second in mentions (fourteen), and others were engineering (nine), marketing (nine), and general business administration (five). Seven respondents indicated that any bachelor's degree would be suitable, and four additional agencies strongly urged a broad, general education. Majors in anthropology, history, social sciences, and public administration are just a few of the other majors recommended. One respondent indicated that "Intercultural Communication would also be a good (*ideal*) background."

Employment in an international context is, in a sense, an elite and highly valued position. Thus as we indicated, it is not surprising to find that completion of at least a bachelor's degree is generally a minimum expectation. However, respondents in this study seemed to agree that considerable previous work experience is also necessary. The questionnaire asked whether the minimum experience for a potential employee is (A) one semester, part-time, (B) two semesters, part-time, (C) one year, full-time, or (D) more than one year, full-time. Again, answers in some cases were dependent upon the specific employment positions, but of the forty-one responses to this question, nearly half of the respondents (eighteen) indicated a minimum need of *more* than one year of full-time experience. Nearly a quarter of respondents (nine) indicated a minimum of one year, full-time. In a few cases, respondents indicated that some of these rather severe expectations might be waived by extensive formal schooling. Thus, it would appear essential that students gain some applicable part-time work experience or participate in a relevant internship program. However, even directly relevant work experience was not essential to one respondent who sought "any work experience which would tell us whether a person has motivation to achieve goals."

A final section of our questionnaire was an open-ended query, "What additional information and observations can you offer with regard to careers in the international field?" For purposes of reporting, responses to this question are combined with responses contained in cover letters from many respondents. The respondents' advice, of course, does not fit into established categories and, indeed, some of the responses seem to contradict others. For example, one respondent said, "job opportunities for U.S. citizens in developed areas of the world will decrease," while another said, "opportunities are increasing." Nonetheless, some very useful patterns of advice seem to emerge from responses.

First, United States citizens should be aware of the practice of some institutions of hiring foreign nationals in overseas capacities. In some cases, this seemed a clear-cut policy with little likelihood of deviation.

Second, some respondents put heavy emphasis on an applicant's personal characteristics which seem principally less a product of formal learned behavior than are skills learned from such formal training. For example, respondents expressed interest in the following attributes: maturity, mobility, ability to adapt quickly to a foreign environment, an analytical and logical mind, flexibility, common sense, a sense of humor, tolerance, "a spirit of adventure," and the ability to detach oneself from one's own cultural background. Another respondent added that "a flexible family is critical." Finally,one set of observations warrants more complete quotation: "[The applicant] must be free to travel, be aware and tolerate time and food and sleep differentials, recognize cost differentials attendant to high foreign salaries, and be aware of changing politics of the U.S. as well as the foreign employer."

Third, while "personal characteristics" were emphasized by some respondents, others focused on skill development. The questionnaire had listed many skills but these seemed particularly important to some. One respondent said, "the development of certain *skills* (as in items above) is more important than accumulating *knowledge* about particular countries;" another echoed, "skills are the first requirement, and cultural understanding is second." Several respondents emphasized particular skills. One said, "I have emphasized the need for writing skills . . . Reports must be prepared at all levels, both marketing and in the laboratories." Another said: the applicant "should be sensitive to other people and able to relate to individuals across racial, ethnic, national, or religious lines.[He/she] should be able to deal with foreign nationals on a one to one basis as well as in a group situation." Lastly, one respondent replied: "Our emphasis has tended to be 'on the job training' for persons with strong organizational and communicative skills, relative maturity and intellectual potential — rather than an emphasis on a degree in international affairs."

Fourth, other respondents' answers were focused on the type of background and/or training that a potential applicant should seek. There is "limited opportunity without a graduate degree and experience," said one. Another said that "experience in a specialty, i.e. marketing, finance, etc., is essential *prior* to international assignment." Similarly, one writer advised that "one should try to develop a feel for a specific area, then follow it up academically (U.N., international banking, etc.)." Likewise, another added, "students should investigate specific areas of interest before completing their education. Strong communicative skills, open-mindedness, and 'people perception' are musts." A very lengthy piece of advice offered by one respondent seems to merit particular attention as a summary statement about training:

> Most important . . . is that a student have a *broad* enough and *deep* enough experience *and* study. . . . To have had the experience of . . . becoming facile in a foreign language and *using* it *sometimes* seems less useful to us than a student who may have majored in "English literature," but who has lived overseas and demonstrates an ability to understand the more personal level of cross cultural affairs . . . . The "culture-specific" knowledge is not difficult to learn on-the-job, *if* the new employee has had some previous foreign-residence, travel or study *experience* and *if* he/she is "attuned" to the whole issue of cross-cultural communication.

Fifth, several respondents placed strong emphasis on the need for "company orientation." One said, "with our company it is best to get experience with the domestic operation and then transfer to the international division." Two other writers emphasized that "it is particularly necessary that a person . . . have a good basic knowledge and understanding of the company and the company's products."

In summary, this study has produced some useful advice for those seeking to prepare themselves for a career related to some aspect of intercultural communication. Our analysis reveals that most employers, be they in the private sector or in government, desire people who possess certain communication skills. In addition, some culture-specific preparation seems advised. Further, a four year college degree is probably essential, while additional education may be advisable. No single major area of study seems to be universally recommended, but there is clear evidence that potential employers seek persons with a considerable amount of previous work experience. The survey further reveals a large set of "personal characteristics" which potential employers seek.

This study might be regarded as an exploratory effort to begin to gain an understanding of career opportunities in the intercultural communication field. Additional research could usefully focus on vocational positions and specific preparation for such positions. Studies could also be conducted to determine if practitioners of intercultural communication, those in government and private industry, identify the same characteristics of intercultural effectiveness discussed by educators such as Ruben, Brislin, Pedersen, Samovar and Porter.[3] Further, a profile of the availability of such positions for now and in the future would be useful.

NOTES

Larry A. Samovar is Professor and Al R. Weitzel is Associate Professor in the Department of Speech Communication at San Diego State University.

[1] James E. Knott, *Career Opportunities in the International Field* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, 1977).

[2] A program of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used. Criteria for scale inclusion was a primary loading greater than .60, with no secondary loading greater than .40. Only factors with at least three scales meeting minimum inclusion criteria were retained. The resulting three factor solution (communication skills, other-culture training, and foreign language background) accounted for 67.5 percent of the total variance.

[3] For a review of some of these characteristics see: Brent D. Ruben, Lawrence R. Askling and Daniel J. Kealey, "Cross-Cultural Effectiveness," in *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research, Vol. 1: Theory,* eds. David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen and George W. Renwick (publication of the Society for Intecultural Education, Training and Research, 1977), pp. 92-105; and *Intercultural Communication: A Reader,* 2nd ed., Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1976), Chapter 6.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: STATE-OF-THE-ART STUDY

GEORGE W. RENWICK

This paper describes briefly the purpose, methods, and products of a three-year comprehensive study designed to describe and assess the current status of the field of intercultural communication. Much of the paper is devoted to a description of the content of the six products resulting from the study. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the significant findings of the study and their implications for the teachers, trainers, researchers, administrators, and other professionals involved in intercultural education, training, and research.

A comprehensive project designed to describe and assess the field of intercultural communication has recently been completed. The major purpose of the three-year Stateof-the-Art Study was to locate the most significant resources for intercultural education, training, and research, and to provide direct access to these resources for the many individuals and organizations now needing them. Further, our purpose was to systematically analyze the development of the field and assess its current condition with a view to recommend specific steps for its advancement. The purpose of this paper is to describe briefly the design and products of this study in order that the reader can now take full advantage of this comprehensive effort.

The major task in this study was to answer this question: Who is doing what, where, how, and how well, and what should those of us committed to constructive intercultural relations establish as our priorities for the next five years? Each phase of the study was designed to generate information — information which would be revealing and stimulating, but which would also be immediately useful. Three kinds of people can now benefit from the results:

1. Individuals interested in entering and exploring the field; for them the study provides a map tracing avenues of entrance and describing possible destinations.

2. Teachers, trainers, researchers and administrators already involved in intercultural relations who are curious to know what their colleagues are doing, what particular methods and materials they are using, and what they can now concentrate upon — individually and jointly — in order to reinforce one another's efforts and give direction to their rapidly expanding field.

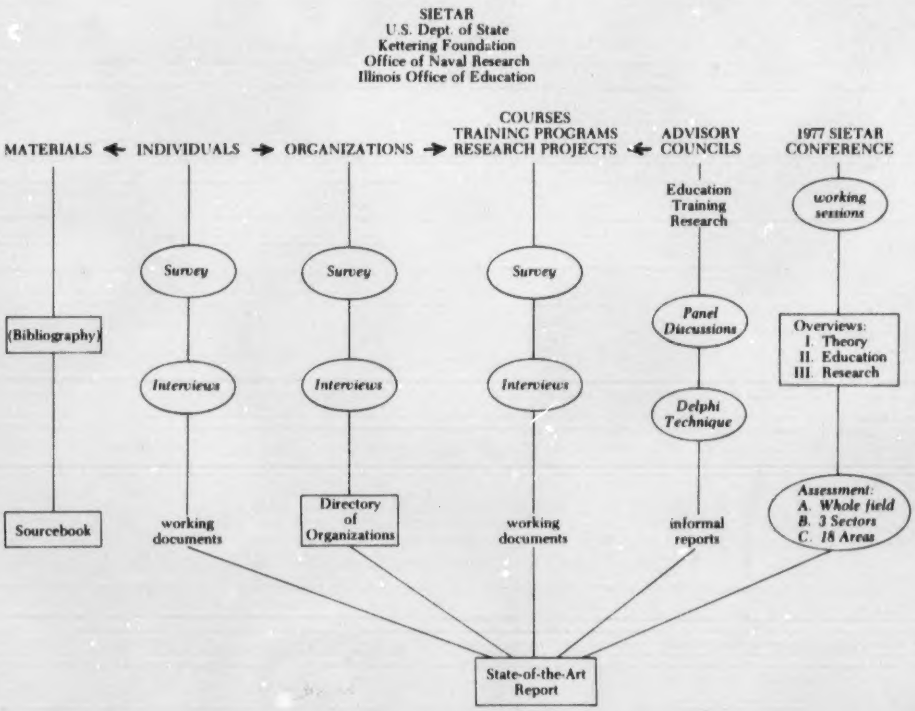
3. Individuals and organizations in other fields and professions wanting to draw upon the resources and services of the field; for them, it locates the resources and provides easy access to the variety of services now available.

The study was initiated by the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR) and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs at the U. S. Department of State.[1] Several hundred persons have contributed extraordinary time and thought to the study and, through the study, to the field. The products of the study, therefore, like all substantial efforts, are the creations of persons who are not only competent in their chosen areas but also unusually committed to our common tasks.

METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

In order to gather the widely dispersed information necessary to construct a comprehensive picture of the field, it has been necessary to draw upon the knowledge and judgement of a large number of people throughout the United States and in twenty-three other countries. They have participated in the study through a variety of complementary methods. The methods used in the study, the study design, and the products of the study are presented in Figure 1. The methods used in the study included the following:

Figure 1.
STATE-OF-THE-ART STUDY



Circles show the methods used in the study
Rectangles show the products of the study

1. *Three comprehensive surveys* through which information has been gathered on 700 individuals professionally involved in the field, 500 organizations active in the field, and 30,000 intercultural courses, training programs and research projects;

2. A nationwide *conference* during which approximately 200 people discussed and reported on the state of the art in major areas represented in the field;

3. An *assessment instrument* through which 130 individuals identified specific strengths and weaknesses of the field;

4. *Three Advisory Councils*, consisting of thirty-six professionals around the country, each of whom evaluated their sector (Education, Training or Research) and recommended specific actions for its further development;[2]

5. *Panel discussions* with the Research Advisory Council; and

6. *Interviews* with many members of the Advisory Councils and other widely respected individuals in this and related fields.

PRODUCTS OF THE STUDY

Six products have resulted from the study. They are the following:

Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research:

Volume I: *Theory*
Volume II: *Training and Education*
Volume III: *Special Research Areas*

Intercultural Sourcebook: Cross-Cultural Training Methodologies

Directory of Organizations Actively Involved in Intercultural Education, Training and Research

State-of-the-Art Report: A Description and Assessment of Intercultural Education, Training and Research[3]

With regard first to the *OVERVIEW*, the three volumes in this set were drafted before the annual SIETAR Conference in 1977, then discussed and critiqued by conference participants representing a variety of disciplinary viewpoints, then refined and published. The contents of the volumes are as follow:

Volume I: Theory: The basic concepts that constitute the framework for intercultural communication; included are perception in international affairs, adaptation to new cultural environments, mental health and culture, conflict in cross-cultural interaction and cross-cultural effectiveness.

Volume II: Training and Education: The major areas of education and training in which intercultural insights and methods are applied; included are teaching intercultural communication in universities, non-verbal communication and intercultural education, intercultural awareness in elementary and secondary schools, and intercultural training in a variety of contexts: interethnic and race relations, international business and management personnel, military personnel, students going abroad, and teacher training.

Volume III: Special Research Areas: Included here are articles on the evaluation of intercultural courses and programs, women and intercultural communication, issues of forced relocation and migration, intercultural dimensions of foreign student affairs, intercultural writing and interpretation, modernization of traditional cultures, culture teaching and second language teaching.

Most of the articles in these three volumes present a state-of-the-art analysis of the area in question. Each analysis presents a brief history of the development of the area, the major problems with which the area deals, the fundamental theories and methods used in each area, steps needed to further advance the area, and the most important resources available for people working in the area (including carefully selected bibliographies).

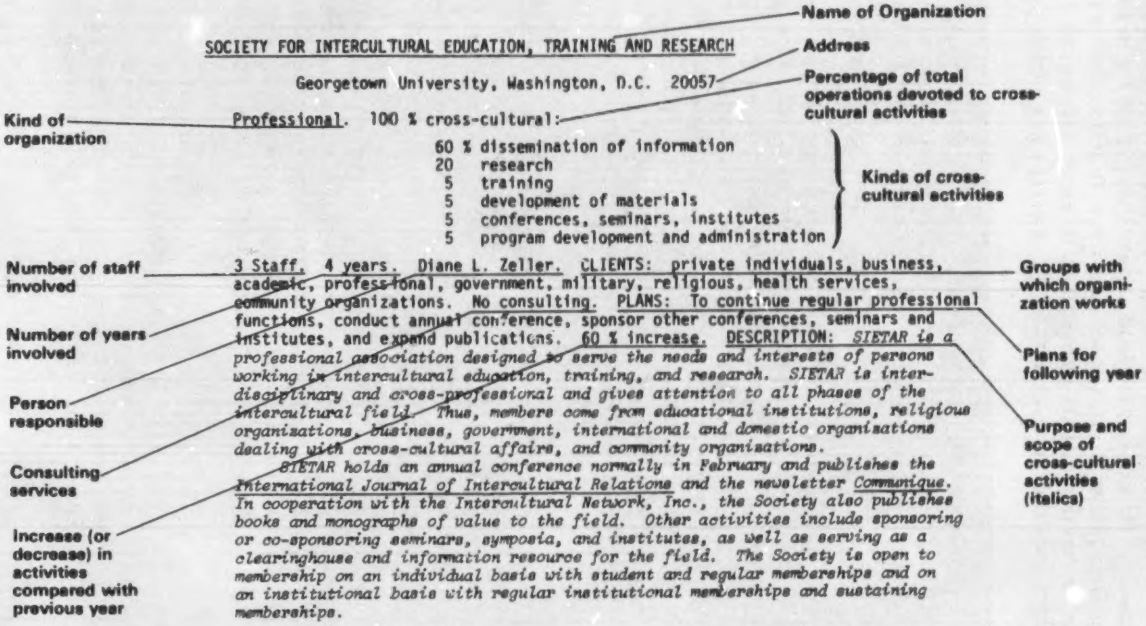
These volumes are especially useful for individuals interested in or entering a particular area, therefore needing a concise overview of the area. They are also useful to those already working in a given area who may not have thought about their area in terms of its current condition and future prospects, who need additional resources, or who need a concise overview of their area through which to introduce students, clients and colleagues to the area.

INTERCULTURAL SOURCEBOOK: This is a compilation of the best materials on intercultural training. Included are materials on role-playing, simulations, the contrast American and cultural self-awareness approaches, culture assimilators, critical incidents, case studies, and area-specific training. The materials are presented in a practical format in order that they can be easily incorporated into courses and training programs. In addition to the materials themselves, explanations of the learning principles underlying given methods are provided. Insights into the nature of the training process are also given, as are specific guidelines on how learning materials may be created and used most effectively.

The *Sourcebook* is a stimulating and very practical manual for teachers who wish to integrate participative methods into their courses, and for trainers who wish to learn more about the methods they are now using or add other effective methods to their current repertoire.

DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS: This reference book provides a detailed description of 472 organizations active in intercultural communication, an overall analysis of them and a map indicating where they are located. A sample entry for the *Directory* is presented in Figure 2. The *Directory* provides two indexes. Through one index the reader can identify particular kinds of organizations (academic, consulting, educational exchange, research, etc.). Through the second index the reader can identify the organizations located in particular cities in forty-two states in the United States and in twenty-three other countries.

Figure 2.
Sample Entry from the *Directory of Organizations*



SOCIETY FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057

Professional. 100 % cross-cultural:

60 % dissemination of information
20 research
5 training
5 development of materials
5 conferences, seminars, institutes
5 program development and administration

3 Staff. 4 years. Diane L. Zeller. CLIENTS: private individuals, business, academic, professional, government, military, religious, health services, community organizations. No consulting. PLANS: To continue regular professional functions, conduct annual conference, sponsor other conferences, seminars and institutes, and expand publications. 60 % increase. DESCRIPTION: *SIETAR is a professional association designed to serve the needs and interests of persons working in intercultural education, training, and research. SIETAR is interdisciplinary and cross-professional and gives attention to all phases of the intercultural field. Thus, members come from educational institutions, religious organizations, business, government, international and domestic organizations dealing with cross-cultural affairs, and community organizations.*

SIETAR holds an annual conference normally in February and publishes the International Journal of Intercultural Relations and the newsletter Communique. In cooperation with the Intercultural Network, Inc., the Society also publishes books and monographs of value to the field. Other activities include sponsoring or co-sponsoring seminars, symposia, and institutes, as well as serving as a clearinghouse and information resource for the field. The Society is open to membership on an individual basis with student and regular memberships and on an institutional basis with regular institutional memberships and sustaining memberships.

Name of Organization

Address

Percentage of total operations devoted to cross-cultural activities

Kind of organization

Kinds of cross-cultural activities

Number of staff involved

Groups with which organization works

Number of years involved

Plans for following year

Person responsible

Purpose and scope of cross-cultural activities (italics)

Consulting services

Increase (or decrease) in activities compared with previous year

The *Directory* will be a useful guide for individuals and organizations both within and outside the field. For both, it provides specific information on numerous channels into and through the field. For those in the field, the *Directory* provides information which may lead to new resources, undergraduate or graduate degrees, employment, cooperative ventures, or markets for intercultural products and services. For individuals, institutions and agencies outside the field, it provides broader and more accurate information on the wide range of opportunities and services now available to them, enabling them to begin immediately to take direct advantage of the field.

STATE-OF-THE-ART REPORT: This is the summary document of the whole study. It is divided into three major parts:

1. *Findings:* The first part traces the development of intercultural education, training and research since the first intercultural activity on which we have information (in 1932).

This part also provides detailed descriptions of the individuals professionally involved in the field, the organizations actively involved, and the wide variety of intercultural activities in which increasing numbers of individuals and organizations engage: courses, training programs, research projects and other intercultural activities. Descriptive data on the intercultural activities include their numbers, locations, funding sources and amounts, methods used, the kind and extent of evaluation conducted, and the resources most needed for each activity.

Data are presented on 30,000 intercultural activities in forty-five states in the United States and in seventy-two other countries. Approximately 950,000 students or participants have been involved in these activities. Approximately $320,000,000 has been spent on these activities.

2. *Assessment:* This part systematically assesses the three basic sectors of intercultural communication (education, training and research) and the eighteen areas of specialization represented in the field (teaching — undergraduate and graduate, foreign student affairs, mental health, evaluation of courses and programs, second language instruction, social work, etc.). Assessment criteria were established especially for this study; this was done through the Delphi Technique with the three Advisory Councils.

3. *Recommendations:* The third part of the *Report* recommends specific steps which educators, trainers and researchers can now take to achieve broad-based and rapid development in their own sector (and steps each can take to reinforce the efforts of their colleagues in the other sectors).

Increasing numbers of individuals and organizations are becoming interested in intercultural communication. The *State-of-the-Art Report* will enable them to appreciate the scope and diversity of the field, and to find the points of entry most appropriate to them. The *Report* will therefore be useful to students and others wanting to become involved in the field, and to a variety of institutions and organizations wanting to draw upon the insights, skills, materials and other resources of the field. It will also provide guidance for funding agencies interested in determining the most pressing needs within the field and the points of leverage critical to the development of the field.

By describing intercultural communication in considerable detail, the *Report* will enable colleagues in related fields to define our field, its direction, and its offerings. With this clearer picture, colleagues will see exactly where they can connect with the field, and where they can most advantageously draw from it, and contribute to it.

The *Report* is intended to be especially useful to persons already involved in the field — educators, trainers, researchers and administrators. Each needs to know what the others are doing and what priorities all should concentrate upon in order to develop the field in a balanced manner in the future. Each needs a sense of the whole field if he or she is to represent the field confidently and accurately to students, colleagues, potential clients and others who inquire about it.

Complementing these products of the study (therefore shown in Figure 1), although not a part of the study, is another basic reference work: *A Comprehensive Bibliography on Intercultural, Ethnic and Race Relations.* Initially funded by the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, this volume has been in preparation for the last five years and will list and index all pertinent books and articles published between 1888 and 1978.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Given the comprehensive design of the State-of-the-Art Study, it is not possible to summarize all of the significant findings in this article. Generally speaking, however, we have found that the development of intercultural communication has been due more to communication than to organization. The organizations long in the field, and those formed more recently to promote the field have, of course, contributed to its development. Underlying the convergence of large numbers of people, however, has been the articulation of an ideal which has been compelling for all of them. Consolidation, still tentative, has then come about largely because of their individual efforts, their recognition of common concerns, and their exchange of designs, and methods, frustrations, and hopes.

As a result, the field of intercultural communication has been growing quite rapidly. The number of individuals professionally involved in the field has been increasing an average of twelve percent during each of the last ten years. The number of organizations actively involved in the field has been increasing by thirteen percent each year during the last ten years. During the year following the survey, the organizations planned to increase their intercultural activities by an average of twenty-six percent. We can look forward, therefore, to substantial growth in the field during the coming years.

With regard briefly to the intercultural courses covered in the survey, they make up eight percent of all the intercultural activities covered; training programs make up eighty-nine percent, research projects one percent and other intercultural activities two percent.

Intercultural courses have been offered not only by universities but by a variety of other organizations as well (the U. S. Navy, for example, the International Communication Agency and the Experiment in International Living). Since the first course on which we have information in 1956, there have been 2,200 intercultural courses conducted. The number of students enrolled in these courses has been 105,000. The average number of students in the courses has been forty-seven.

Financial information is available on twenty percent of the courses. Funding for each course ranges from $100 to $300,000; the average for each course has been $19,400.

During the year following the survey (1977-78), the number of courses which the respondents planned to conduct was 400. The estimated number of students who were to be involved was 19,000. Financial information was obtained on twenty-four percent of the courses planned for that year. If these courses are representative of the 400 courses planned that year, the total amount which was to be spent on all the courses planned was approximately $12,600,000. The average cost of each course planned, therefore, would have been $32,000.

The states in which the largest number of intercultural courses have been taught are California (thirteen percent) and New York (ten percent). The courses have lasted from two days to one year. The average duration for all the courses has been 3.8 months.

The findings suggest that intercultural courses tend to be rather experience-based, perhaps more so than most other courses. In eighty-nine percent of the intercultural course, for example, lectures were used less than one half of the time. In thirteen percent of the courses there were no lectures at all.

A number of unexpected findings emerged from the study. One of the most unexpected is the amount of intercultural research which is being done. Forty percent of the individuals professionally involved in the field are engaged in intercultural research; fifty percent of the organizations active in the field do intercultural research. These individuals spend one quarter of their working time on this research; these organizations devote one quarter of their intercultural activities to this research. In addition, thirty-three percent of the organizations responding, or 107 organizations, provide consulting services on intercultural research. Both individuals and organizations stand to benefit significantly from knowing more about the topics and the quality of the research which is being done, and from direct access to the methods and results of this research. One of the major recommendations of the study, therefore, is that intercultural research be further investigated and that the results be widely distributed. Further recommendations and all of the significant findings of the study can be found in the *State-of-the-Art Report*.

The overall purpose of this study has been to determine the state-of-the-art of a professional field. In that such a comprehensive study has never been undertaken before, the design of this project may be suggestive to the individuals and organizations in related fields concerned about the current condition and further development of their fields. The study may, therefore, become a prototype for similar studies in other fields.

The field of intercultural communication may, itself, become a prototype for other fields. Increasing numbers of individuals in other fields are now attempting to introduce into their fields the perspectives and methods of different disciplines and diverse cultures. Furthermore, detemined efforts are now being made to create and establish new fields which are, *at the outset*, consciously and consistently interdisciplinary and international. This study analyzes an intentionally interdisciplinary and intercultural field at an early stage in its development. By assessing such a field, and by describing the cooperation of individuals who not only have diverse professional backgrounds but also represent contrasting cultures, the study should be encouraging to those embarked upon other endeavors requiring international cooperation; it may also suggest to them productive strategies for achieving conceptual and procedural integration.

The field of intercultural communication deserves careful scrutiny, frequent monitoring, and periodic studies of its development. This study is the first, and can become the base point against which the evolution of intercultural communication can be measured in the future. As subsequent readings are taken, the *pattern of development* of an interdisciplinary, intercultural field should become clear. Knowledge of such a pattern will not only be revealing to theorists and practitioners in related fields; it will, of course, provide perspective and direction to future efforts in this field.

NOTES

George W. Renwick is Vice President of the Intercultural Network, Inc., and Director of Special Projects, The SYSTRAN Corporation.

[1] Two of the people centrally involved in the whole project have been David S. Hoopes and Toby S. Frank of the Intercultural Network, Inc.

[2] The names of the members of the three Advisory Councils are:

Education

Nobleza Asuncion-Lande
Univ. of Kansas
LaRay M. Barna
Portland State Univ.
James M. Becker
Indiana Univ.
John Condon
International Christian Univ.
Larry Condon
Center for Global Perspectives
Henry Ferguson
Interculture Assoc., Inc.
Seymour Fersh
Fairleigh Dickinson Univ.
Stephen Guild
Univ. of Massachusetts
Sterling P. Hum
L.A. Unified School Dist.
Nemi C. Jain
Arizona State Univ.
Jack Matthews
Univ. of Pittsburgh
Michael H. Prosser
Univ. of Virginia

Training

Molefi Asante
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REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

BROADCASTING IN THE THIRD WORLD: PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE. By Elihu Katz and George Wedell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. xvi + 305, $15.00.

This volume is an evaluation of radio and television broadcasting in eleven developing nations. The volume grew out of collaboration between the Department of Adult Education at the University of Manchester and the Communication Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Funding was provided by the Ford Foundation. The eleven nations examined were Algeria, Brazil, Cyprus, Indonesia, Iran, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Singapore, Tanzania and Thailand. A case study of each was conducted in 1973-75 during a short visit by the authors; personal interviews were obtained with broadcasting officials and others, available data and literature about broadcasting were secured, and the broadcasting systems were observed. Questionnaire data about broadcasting were also obtained from a larger sample of developing nations, to complement the eleven case studies.

The resulting book is interesting reading, filled with insightful examples and illustrations documenting the general disappointment with broadcasting's performance. High hopes were held for radio and television broadcasting when these systems were introduced in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Today the picture of television that emerges is one of a very high-cost system aimed mainly at an urban-elite audience in a nation's capital city, featuring such imported programming as "Kojak" and "I Love Lucy," with little room for programs featuring the inherited cultural values of the society. Radio reaches most of the nation, but it contributes little more than television to national integration, development, or inherited cultural values. Why is broadcasting such a disappointment? Katz and Wedell suggest this is owing to: (1) too-close copying of the British, American, and French models of broadcasting which were transferred to developing nations (for example, all newscasts sound about the same worldwide, as a rapid staccato account of unrelated events), (2) the high cost of local program production, especially for television, that forces importation, and (3) the need for advertising revenues from large audiences. Most developing nations feature strict government control over broadcasting, another possible reason, Katz and Wedell imply, for poor performance.

This book represents a departure from the predominant mode of audience effects-oriented communication research of the past, focusing instead on how mass communication systems work. Such a case study method is advantageous for understanding the "whys" of a process, usually without providing quantitive data for generalization of the results. The forte of the case study is to provide insight and understanding; the present book is an illustration of the benefits of this method in skilled hands. But one might wonder if eleven nations are too many cases; perhaps five or six nations, each explored in twice as much depth, might have been preferable. It is unfortunate that the authors chose not to include any of their country case studies (available at cost from The University of Manchester) in the present book; this reviewer has read several of these studies, and believes the inclusion of some would have been a valuable addition to the book.

The volume concentrates much more heavily on television than on radio. Perhaps radio should not have been included at all; radio broadcasting systems in the eleven nations studied are quite different from their television counterparts. Instead, Katz-Wedell might have given more attention to satellite television broadcasting in nations such as India, Indonesia, Brazil, and/or Iran. Also, could a theoretical framework have been developed for the present investigation?

Despite these several what-might-have-been shortcomings, the present book is one of the most important volumes of recent years about broadcast communication in developing nations. It is concise, clear, and informative. Undoubtedly it is correct in its conclusion about the wide gap between promise and performance. The authors close with a chapter on alternatives to the present patterns of broadcasting operations, urging the managers of broadcasting systems to be more creative and less accepting of Western models.

EVERETT M. ROGERS
Stanford University

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MAN & DOLPHIN. By John C. Lilly. New York: Crown Publishers, 1978, pp. xviii + 269, $12.95.

Research scientist John Lilly explores a new frontier in intercultural communication—the relationships between man and the Cetaceans, the family that includes dolphins, porpoises and whales. *Communication Between Man & Dolphin* is certain to become a classic for future generations of scholars in interspecies communication.

The strongest statement in the book is that the communication barrier between man and dolphin is about to be broken; that the human community should prepare itself to receive, evaluate and assimilate the information to be obtained. Supported by his twenty-three years of research experience, Lilly states his astounding conclusion — the belief that these Cetacea "are more intelligent than any man or woman." For twenty-nine centuries mankind has tried to understand the dolphins. Lilly argues that if we devote the best intellects to problems of sonic communication (dolphins communicate by complex underwater sounds analagous to speech of humans, but ten times faster), we might expand our horizons "far beyond that envisioned by any other program of scientific research." We may learn from the Cetaceans themselves of their realities, their social competence, their philosophies, their rules for survival. The brain of the Cetacean is up to six times larger than the human brain; critical brain size necessary for language developed fifteen to thirty million years ago. All of this "larger" brain is in the macrobiocomputer of the silent cortex, that area devoted to thinking, imagination, long-term goals, ethics, etc.

The Human/Dolphin Foundation was established in 1976 at Malibu, California by Lilly, his wife Toni, and friends Burgess Meredith and Victor Di Suvero. Here scientists conducted initial investigations into sonic communication between man and dolphin. In the "Foreword" to the book, Burgess Meredith presents Lilly's philosophy: "In the province of the mind, what one believes to be true either is true or becomes true within certain limits. These limits are found to be beliefs to be transcended."

Lilly discusses those sciences and disciplines he deems necessary for the study and advancement of interspecies communication and includes a chronological list of discoveries about dolphins, a list of organizations interested in Cetacea, an appendix and illustrations. It is his personal hope that there will be enough informed persons within the various disciplines to determine the relations among humans and between humans and others. He hopes that such advances will not be in the service of warfare but will be in the service of a social evolution. Absorbing, rewarding, challenging and demanding, this book is very informative — a must for reading. This reviewer became so enthusiastic that she read all of Lilly's earlier books in sequence. Watch for his next book!

SHARON WAGNER FAVORITE
Phoenix, Arizona

THE CULTURAL DIALOGUE: AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Michael H. Prosser. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978, pp. xiii + 344, $11.95.

Prosser's book provides ample evidence of the advances and changes in the study of intercultural and international communication during the last ten to fifteen years. But it also illustrates our continuing challenges as we strive to understand human communication in general.

The book is well written; Prosser's style makes for easy reading, and the overall organization of the book is strong. Prosser's personal concern with the importance of technology and a kind of cultural or social-evolutionism is readily noticeable in his selection and emphasis on quotations. As a result, some readers may not feel that opposing views have been adequately represented. However, Prosser deals fairly with those authors he cites and does so adequately for this introductory book.

Because of the complexity of the subject matter, the term "introductory" probably needs some clarification. In effect Prosser has provided us with a basic survey text. Whether or not it is as simple a book as the term "introductory" suggests depends on where the study of intercultural and international communication is placed in the curriculum. Students who have had some exposure to psychology, sociology, communication, and possibly even some background in anthropology or linguistics should find this book easy. Without such a background, the material may become overwhelming in its diversity since Prosser touches on most areas we consider to be important component parts of the study of intercultural communication. One of the strengths of his book is that it requires active involvement by both student and teacher. As part of a carefully planned course allowing for thoughtful discussion of varying reactions to the major issues (for instance, the subject of cultural universals), this book serves as a useful introduction.

Editors and publishers of college textbooks love summaries at the end of chapters. It is my feeling that in this book they are simply a waste of space and that they make no real contribution. While Prosser does react to a number of issues, readers would benefit from even more personalized reactions or discussions by the author based on his own insights, not merely summarizing quotations from well-known authorities.

The final section of the book also presents some problems. The discussion of actual dialogue situations involving Japanese and Americans is interesting, but it is not well integrated into the book; certainly this illustrates once more the fact that subjective culture or individual "interpretation" of culture has to be more adequately considered in this and most other books on intercultural and international communication. While Prosser touches on the area of subjective culture in several chapters, chapter 10, "The Individual Process of Culture: Subjective Culture," is disappointingly brief and incomplete. Human communication requires consideration of a large number of interactive features and this book illustrates that fact very well. Prosser has advanced our approach to the study of intercultural communication on the introductory level. The author has also reaffirmed that the study of intercultural and international communication has to be an interdisciplinary effort.

FRED L. CASMIR
Pepperdine University

THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS. By Vern Terpstra. Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Company, 1978, pp. xxiv + 280, $6.95.

Anthropologist Vern Terpstra has written this book primarily for students of international business. Unlike most texts written for business students, this volume focuses on the cultural environment of the business setting rather than economic or physical environments. Terpstra repeatedly stresses that all elements of the business environment are interrelated and interdependent; that whatever the country, whatever the context, it is essential to understand and learn to work within the framework of the culture in which the multi-national organization is located.

Although this text was written primarily for business students, it contains several themes central to the education of any scholar or student of international or intercultural relations. The most important themes revolve around the relationship between the sojourner (in this case the multinational manager or professional), his/her organization, and the culture in which he/she is placed. One major theme is the relationship between a culture and its economy. Another principal theme, more specific in nature, is that of cultural heterogeneity and its implications for international business. A third major theme, that which confronts the reader on the most personal level, centers around the multinational professional as a cultural change agent and the concepts of innovation vs. conformity.

The book is divided into an introduction and eight chapters, complete with review questions, chapter conclusions and a wealth of bibliographic information. A basic discussion of the cultural environment — its nature, its relationship to the multinational organization and the problems experienced therein — is provided in the introduction. Terpstra also discusses five elements of the cultural environment which can hinder or prevent the development of good intercultural relations: (1) cultural variability, (2) cultural complexity, (3) cultural hostility, (4) cultural heterogeneity and (5) cultural interdependence. Also included in the introduction is a discussion of high and low context cultures.

The following chapters discuss the composition of the cultural environment of international business. Each chapter is dedicated to one aspect of the total composition: language, religion, values and attitudes, law, education, politics, technology and material culture and social organization. Although each chapter focuses on a different aspect of culture, Terpstra and his contributors continually emphasize the interrelatedness and interdependence of all elements. Each chapter provides readers with an interesting and enlightening balance of culture-general and culture-specific concepts and theories. Also included are specific examples, sets of guidelines which help the reader to identify and understand the cultural differences, potential problems that can arise due to these differences, and possible solutions to these problems should they arise. Terpstra took a refreshingly interdisciplinary approach to include data from anthropology, sociology, technology, language and linguistics, psychology, economics, business management, education and theology; he also suggests several methods by which students of international business and intercultural relations could conduct their own research.

There are many strengths and few weaknesses in *The Cultural Environment of International Business*. The author undertook a monumental task to incorporate the social sciences into the study of international business. But a more thorough and specific discussion of intercultural communication could have been included in the chapter dealing with language. Also, a discussion of perception was absent from the text. Although this book is not specifically devoted to the discussion and development of intercultural and international communication, it addresses most of the elements in a culture. This examination of culture as it relates to the international business environment makes it distinct from all others, and provides an excellent foundation to develop a greater understanding of intercultural communication. It also serves as a valuable resource to all who wish to learn more about the application of intercultural communication concepts to specific contexts and situations.

ROBIN SALEM
Arizona State University

INTERCULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION. By Fred L. Casmir (Ed.). Washington: University Press of America, 1978, pp. iii + 814, $21.50.

An adequate description of Casmir's edition would best begin by telling what is *not* found in the work. Most of the essays are not reprints from other editions. They are not based totally upon empirical modes of demonstration. They give relatively little attention to mass communications media, expressing a preference for person-to-person interaction. Missing also are the platitudes that mar other treatments of intercultural communication and that disciplinary defensiveness which denies a rounded insight into intercultural events. Missing also is the stream-of-consciousness string-of-episodes style concerning an author's recent trip somewhere. In its place is a deep but readable collection of learned speculation on methods, forms, and probable outcomes of intercultural transactions.

Casmir takes an anti-empirical position, at least for the present state of infancy of intercultural inquiry. He finds empirical inquiry to be narrowing. It is better suited to lend finesse and precision to an established area of study than to pioneering an area. Since results are reflections of their methods, a variety of methods is expected to yield a spread of results that can withstand comparison. Intercultural transaction creates an "alternative realm" which passes too quickly and is too unique for ready quantification. Casmir's humanist/transactionist perspective is predicated upon the view of humans as constituting an "open system." Consequently, he who restricts or limits human choices or alternatives for transaction is judged to be unethical and unwise. Casmir opts neither for an emic approach to interaction (on one's own terms) or an etic one (structured in the terms of others). He seems to point the way for a middle approach.

Casmir consciously chooses to emphasize what *ought to be* over what *is*. To this reader, however, the need to understand continuities and regularities (*i.e.*, patterns) is equally evident. Constructs, "equivalence," and "mechnical models" should be generated as a product of "innate, creative, generative mechanisms." But until these mechanisms are more fully understood, who will begrudge the researcher his or her "as if" construct, so long as it is not reified to resist reassessment in light of new knowledge? Mental set, expectation, cultural predisposition and predilection, stereotype, perceptual filtering and completion, and other "fixed" features dot the landscape of the human mind, and cannot be exorcised by asking that an intercultural transaction "make sense" as though it were completely fresh and naive. With these reservations, the Casmir collection may be examined for its particular essays.

Gruber and Hepworth offer excellent methodological essays. Criteria for the admissibility of evidence about language, and speculation on the need for pre-empirical investigation in intercultural communication are argued very well indeed. Ironically the Larson article, in the same unit, builds upon empirical investigation to show the relevance of differentiation theory for intercultural communication. Besides the Harms/Richstad and the Grunig essays, strong analyses that could be better considered in the international unit, the remaining articles are of little interest to the interculturalist.

In the "Intercultural Communication" unit, Stewart's outline appears to have grown in depth and breadth of insight over the years. It remains of value to those who want an overview of many disciplinary approaches to the intercultural field of study. The Yamauchi study on aging and the Kraft essay on worldview are strong essays, along with research ideas from Condon and a characteristically thorough analysis by Glenn. The jointly authored Loomis/Epstein and Chisholm/von Ekartsberg articles added little of note.

The "International Communication" section is not really distinct from earlier units. Its reference to international organization and diplomatic communication tends to gravitate towards the discussion of informal conversation in lobbies and galleries. Mass media specialists would find only the Harms/Richstad, Grunig, Lent, Hanley, and Altschull essays of immediate interest. The second Pierce article is strong and useful, as is the Magee piece on communication in international organizations. Besides a Dupree article on cultural exchange, the balance of the collection discusses the state of the art or prominent theories in specific topical areas. Tourism, little discussed, could have received more attention.

The collection suggests many lines of inquiry for future research. It treats a number of topics systematically and in great depth. The beginning graduate student would rightly be impressed by these facts, by the excellent bibliographies with individual articles, and with the collection as a whole. The flaws of the work — unevenness in quality and in adaptation to the intercultural theme, typographical errors, diffuseness of coverage, a difficult-to-pin-down view of methodology, and sketchiness about the nature of an "alternative system" for intercultural transactants — do not detract from the edition's many strengths. The work deserves a wide reading and a patient one.

WILLIAM J. STAROSTA
Howard University

MASS MEDIA POLICIES IN CHANGING CULTURES. By George Gerbner (Ed.). New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977, pp. x + 291, $19.50.

In this book Gerbner assembles twenty-three essays, most original to this volume, by a group of American and foreign writers distinguished in the area of international communication. The book stresses international trends, new directions, and developments in trends and research. In Part I, as in other parts of the book, the heavy American impact on media throughout the world is evident. Beginning with the initial essay by Jeremy Tunstall, "The American Role in Worldwide Mass Communication," various aspects of the media are stressed as they fit into the international arena. While there are essays on global wholesale news sellers, film, television and satellite communication, and essays on trends in Latin America, the Middle East and tropical Africa, no broad treatment is offered in this section on media in Asia or, for that matter, the socialist societies. Surprisingly, there is no essay in the entire volume dealing with media development in the People's Republic of China. These limitations are compensated somewhat through the inclusion of Jorge Werthein's essay on educational television in Cuba in Part II and Tamas Szecsko's "The Development of a Socialist Communication Theory" in Part III. Concluding Part I is Herbert Schiller's provocative essay about the free flow of information, a subject which has received much attention in other academic treatments of the media and a topic which has come under increasingly sharp criticism among member nations of UNESCO.

The emphasis in Part II is on case studies involving individual nations and societies with emphasis upon developing societies such as Cuba, Peru, India, Malaysia, Thailand, Nigeria, and South Africa. The South African essay by Randall Harrison and Paul Ekman is especially interesting since that country is one of the last major Western-oriented nations to develop a national television; this was due in part to fear of contamination from American and British shows, which tend to be the major foreign inputs into most national televisions where production resources are scarce. The essay on Thailand by Diana Lancaster provides a very interesting contrast between traditional entertainment media (such as fairs including competing bands, films, boxing, drama, and dancing) and the gradual introduction of more contemporary media.

Introducing Part III is a version of Gerbner's earlier essay on comparative cultural indicators which also appeared in *Communications Technology and Social Policy*. He introduces the concept of message system analysis, which is the basis for several of the other essays in this section. Alex Edelstein's "New Variables for Cross-Cultural Study" also provides a useful methodology for considering comparative studies of international media. Irving Lewis Allen's "Social Integration as an Organizing Principle" and Michael Gurevitch and Jay G. Blumler's "Mass Media and Political Institutions: The Systems Approach" also are very useful in developing new methological perspectives. By and large, Part III completes a useful addition to the book's emphasis on media and change.

MICHAEL H. PROSSER
University of Virginia

MASS-MEDIATED CULTURE. By Michael R. Real. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977, pp. xii + 289, $8.95.

Mass-Mediated Culture introduces the novice to mass-mediated culture while providing the more advanced student and professional with valuable information and six case studies to expand individual perspectives. The introduction and final chapter are offered as "holistic overviews" which emphasize various intellectual approaches to contemporary mass-mediated cultures, the internal structures of such cultures, and alternatives. The remaining six chapters present five case studies which examine major areas affected by and inter-related with mass-mediated culture (education, sports, health, politics and religion), and one case study of a culture which is *not* mass-mediated. Through examining a cultural structure which is not mass-media oriented, many precepts and concepts are more clearly identified and examined.

In the introduction, "Daily Bread and Burnt Toast," Real provides an overview of mass-mediated culture as those who "share a specific focus. They concern *culture* in the form of widespread symbols, rhythms, beliefs, and practices available through *media* . . . that transmit in a *mass* manner from a single source to many anonymous receivers." Media in this context includes television, radio and film as well as records, books, periodicals and all other forms of communication which affect mass audiences. Current expressions of mass-mediated culture come primarily from the United States, Canada, Western Europe and Japan, but are available also through most urban centers and from many Third World countries.

With the advent in recent years of mass-mediated culture come many questions with which analysts of media in the United States are familiar: how much of contemporary mass-mediated culture is beneficial for individuals and for the social system? How much is detrimental to cultural values? How does introduction of media from another country affect the culture of the recipient nation? What priorities arise from the mass-consciousness industry which programs media, and the ecosystem that results from it?

The chapters may be read in whatever order the reader prefers for, "as in a mosaic, the interconnections between the case studies are complex and multi-directional" rather than "simple, linear, and sequential." The subjects are ethnographic in the attempt to provide clear, descriptive records of selected cases; but each case is designed to go beyond ethnography to critical analysis of mass-mediated cultural expressions. Each of the five case studies reflects the whole of mass-mediated culture, but each exemplifies a specific theme or concept. The sixth and outside "control" case study of the Aymara Indians is offered as a contrasting example of popular culture that is *not* mass-mediated, Western, literate or capitalist.

Chapter Two, "The Disney Universe: Morality Play," examines subjective perceptions in comparing criticisms of Disney with impressions and influences of 200 respondents who collectively spent 6,500 hours in Disneyland. Chapter Three, "The Super Bowl: Mythic Spectacle," explores why that specific athletic event is the most lucrative annual media event in America. Chapter Four, "Marcus Welby and the Medical Genre," reviews the inaccurate and misleading fictional portrayal of health care as well as the absence of health messages from mass media. Chapter Five, "CRP Media Campaigning: All the President's Ad Men," uses the last Nixon presidential campaign to illustrate how media strategies use popular culture and advertising techniques to persuade voters through propagandizing rather than through informing. Chapter Six, "Billy Graham: Mass Medium," studies a typical Billy Graham telecast to identify fundamentals of his specifically-American gospel. Chapter Seven, "An Indian Fiesta in the Andes," offers a contrast to mass-mediated cultures. This chapter examines a popular festival celebrated by descendants of Incas near Lake Titicaca in the Andes. Current education of these people raises the question of the fate and contributions of non-Western, nonaligned peoples with the expansion of American-dominated mass-mediated culture. A Selected Bibliography of Cited Books and Index conclude the volume, providing sources for further reading.

Each chapter aims for a blend of academic thoroughness and general public relevance. While this approach might offend some "purists," it is an extremely practical and effective approach. In fact, this is perhaps the most significant aspect of the work — its practicality! As Real points out, fewer people today receive their cultural roles and values from classical models but rather from popular figures — actors, newsmen, popular musicians, sports and entertainment celebrities. Mass-mediated culture is *popular* culture in that people throughout the world are generally familiar with many popular figures. Yet despite the popularity of major world events and the effect they have upon large segments of the world's population, relatively little objective and comprehensive data has been obtained about the effects of contemporary mass-mediated culture upon all of us. The reason for this dearth of systematized examination and analysis needs closer consideration, suggests Real. While most mass-mediated cultural considerations fall within one or more academic areas, they are simultaneously of great public interest in policy-making and personal life. Thus many who research and write about popular culture and mass media are defensive of their subject matter and may exhibit "a confused love-hate feeling about it: They liked the Beetles, but not too much." The solution, he suggests, is to develop a multidisciplinary approach to deal with such interrelated concepts as communication, system, structure, institutions and power.

This belief should find much agreement among intercultural experts, many of whom occasionally or habitually find their academic interests not clearly defined as "relevant" or "central" to their own discipline, and from communication professionals who still experience occasional difficulty in explaining the scope of their discipline to others. It is probably outside the scope of any one volume to develop a comprehensive overview of mass-mediated culture for universal utilization; but Real's book provides an excellent introduction in examining specific cases which illustrate the importance of conducting such an examination, while retaining academic respectability. As such, it merits not only examination but reflection from professional in intercultural pursuits.

WILLARD A. UNDERWOOD
Arizona State University

OVERVIEW OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH: VOLUME I: THEORY. By David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen and George W. Renwick (Eds.). Washington: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977, pp. iv + 152, $5.50.

Because the writing of a book review represents such a thankless task, and because most reviewers feel uncomfortable evaluating the efforts of their peers, academicians have developed a series of clever devices to soften the trauma. Mainly they have cultivated a set of ritualistic stereotyped models that are easy to follow. However, when the volume being reviewed does not fit the model, as is the case with *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research,* discomfort becomes the companion of frustration. Let me explain. The volume being reviewed is not an original textbook. It is not an anthology in the traditional sense of the word. It isn't even a book! It is a collection of ten original essays on intercultural communication. What is unique about the collection is that it is an outgrowth of the 1977 conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research. That conference had a State-of-the-Art Study for its general theme. It was the intent of that meeting to conduct an inventory of the current status of the field, to report on what we now know about intercultural communication and what we need to know. This first volume on theory is one of three State-of-the-Art summaries generated by those discussions. (Volume II deals with *Training and Education* while Volume III examines *Special Research Areas.)*

A State-of-the-Art project is a difficult undertaking for a variety of reasons. In the best of circumstances it is both arduous and presumptuous to try to describe and abstract an entire academic discipline. When the area in question is as new and as ubiquitous as intercultural communication, the burden is compounded. It would indeed be a pleasant beginning to this review if I could offer the observation that all the problems were surmounted and the results were flawless. However, this is not the case. Therefore, let us begin with those flaws and then speak to the book's successes:

Perhaps the most concise cataloging of the volume's shortcomings is found in the preface. The editors note:

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> There are gaps, major gaps. There is no full detailed piece on communication, several of the authors were not able to produce final overviews as requested, some went off on tangents, a number developed formats of their own. There is too little on domestic intercultural issues. There is some uneven writing. There are important aspects of the field falling within some of the subject areas which are wholly ignored.

I would suggest that, in general terms, the editors are correct in their assessment. Mainly the problem is one of omission, an understandable dilemma of what to include and what to exclude. However, I find it somewhat ironical that my *major* criticism of the work is not with the ten contributors, but rather with the same editors who offered the evaluation of their own project. I believe that the overall effectiveness of the collection was tarnished by the fact that the editors failed to meet their duties and responsibilities. First, it appears that the editors served only as a clearinghouse for the ten essays. One reads the collection and can't help but ask if the editors did anything more than gather the papers. They failed to write any significant introduction to the entire project. A capstone piece, written by the editors, would have been very helpful in that it could have set forth the goals of the project as well as advancing the main theme of the volume. We need to know what key threads are woven in and out of every chapter. The reader is left with the feeling that the selections are only tangentially related. The overall perspective is never fully explained and/or developed in any detail. For instance, a reader might have some difficulty in deciding on the relationship existing between Juris G. Draguns' piece on mental health and Robert J. Di Pietro's essay on language. The connection should be made by the editors — it was not.

Even with the weaknesses discussed in the preface, and those mentioned above, the volume still makes a contribution to the field of intercultural communication. The successes of *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research* are two-fold. First, the collection does an excellent job of bringing together, in one place, some of the major ideas currently being explored by students of intercultural communication. Second, the book profits from the ten scholars who contributed manuscripts. Space constraints do not allow a detailed description and evaluation of all ten selections. However, even a brief listing of authors and topics will indicate the high caliber of the individuals who had a part in this project.

The first selection by Alfred Smith "is a product of a two-and-a-half hour discussion by twenty five participants." It reviews the history, clients, assumptions, ideas, methods, resources and future direction of intercultural communication. After this rather general selection we are treated to nine good, yet limited, discussions on values and beliefs (Strodtbeck), perceptual process in interaction (Brewer), perception in international affairs (Singer), adaptation in new cultures (Klein), mental health (Draguns), conflict (Milburn), language (Di Pietro), cross-cultural effectiveness (Ruben, Alsking and Kealey), and research on cross-cultural interaction (Brislin and Charles). Each of these authors, in one format or another, tells about the current research and literature in their particular area while also discussing future needs and unanswered questions. In addition, each selection ends with a listing of references and materials on that specialized topic.

Although I have already alluded to the unevenness of some of the offerings, many of them are quite complete. Two in particular are worth noting. Strodtbeck discusses a number of major value perspectives that the student of intercultural communication will find very useful. Drawing heavily on the work of Talcott Parsons, he looks first at the social system approach to values and beliefs, then at a value orientation model and finally, citing much of Osgood's research, a cognitive (psychological) perspective. A second helpful essay is the one on research by Brislin and Charles. This manuscript discusses research history, major concepts, empirical studies, research methods and recommendations for the future. It also offers the reader a very complete listing of journals, organizations and resources in intercultural communication. In addition, the authors include an excellent annotated bibliography.

As a statement or affirmation regarding the state of intercultural communication, this first volume is something of a disappointment. We are much more than what is summarized in this collection. What is here is good, and it is pleasant to see SIETAR move away from its obsession with training; however, the editors should have taken time to discuss their omissions as well as their inclusions. I believe that a more appropriate title might have been "A Partial State-of-the-Art Project."

LARRY A. SAMOVAR
San Diego State University

OVERVIEW OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH: VOLUME II: EDUCATION AND TRAINING. By David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen and George W. Renwick (Eds.). Washington: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1978, pp. 147, $4.95.

The parent study from which this volume derives was sponsored by a variety of governmental and private institutions to explore the state of intercultural education, training and research activities. It is a much needed effort which seeks to pull together many diverse endeavors into an approximation of a comprehensive whole. Given the present state of diversity in directions, vocabularies and disciplines involved, an accurate "overview" will quite correctly indicate a fragmented picture. It is, however, an important step toward greater cross-fertilization among those involved in these areas and will bring greater coherence to the field. This volume, *Education and Training*, the second in this series (Volume I: *Theory* and Volume III: *Special Research Areas)*, exemplifies both the problems and aspirations expressed above.

The survey has good breadth in covering differing types of intercultural training needs and approaches of a variety of organizations. There are examples in education (higher, secondary and elementary school levels and teacher training), in less formal educational areas (as in orientation of US students going abroad), in government (foreign service, military and Peace Corps) and in the private sector (missions, business and industry). Both academicians and practitioners will find fodder here but probably will wish there were more of it.

The person searching for specific direction in putting together programs will be only partially satisfied. Some of the articles have been specific to the point of appendicizing syllabus outlines (*e.g.* Levis) but most concentrate on a more generalized critique of the work in their area of the field. Such program developers, however, will find many useful insights and bibliographies (some annotated) and lists of films, materials and resources of considerable value. The articles reference and put into historical perspective much of the research in a number of disciplines that bear on cross-cultural education and training. More importantly, they point up the lack of research base for much of the training that is going on and call for greater interchange among scholars and practitioners. There are many activities and assumptions described that should be tested and problems identified requiring further exploration.

The introductory chapter (Barna and Jain) brings into focus some of the controversy over the nature of cross-cultural interaction and the spectrum of approaches to its understanding. Teaching methodology is discussed with particular reference to college level courses. Becker's article stresses the weaknesses and ethnocentricity of the limited attention given cross-cultural education at secondary and elementary school levels. Earlier attempts to bring "international understanding" into the classroom are also reviewed. Mayes suggests several elements needed in teacher training for cross-cultural effectiveness and questions the balance of these elements in present programs. He is particularly concerned with the lack of training in coming to know one's own culture. Batchelder provides an historical view of the orientation students have received in preparing for effective functioning abroad. Included are many specific and practical suggestions such as involving students in systems of self-orientation.

A review of some of the research literature relevant to various types of training approaches is provided in Hayle's article. He stresses the tenuous link between theory and practice. He also laments, as do many, the minimal amount of evaluation that is done. In his discussion of training in government organizations, Downs supports Hayle's concern about theory and practice relationships. He suspects that preoccupation with training methodology may often be a defense for a limited theoretical base and that goals may be selected to fit the training method instead of the other way around.

The Peace Corps has been the most extensive practical laboratory in the history of cross-cultural training. Chaffee leads us through the tortuous and changing course of approach to cross-cultural preparation in this organization. Studies are discussed in a detail that provides insights into practical considerations of training development that one does not often get from more academic evaluative approaches. It would be useful to have a similar exposition on the cross-cultural training experience of national volunteer organizations of other countries (*e.g.*, the German DED, the Canadian University Service Overseas and the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers).

Dowd follows the evolution of cross cultural training of missionaries from an emphasis on preparation of the message to preparation of the messenger. A point of very wide applicability is his discussion of the tendency of organizations to assume that once their man is in the field there is no longer any need for cross-cultural training. Raghu Nath describes a set of organizational development stages through which a national corporation with international operations may move to become a truly transnational entity. For each of these stages he sees the organization's personnel as having different functions and needs and requiring somewhat different cross-cultural skills and training.

All of these articles are very interesting and provide a great deal of useful information including bibliographies and lists of material and organizational resources. Though they represent the spectrum of educational, governmental and private training efforts, the reader will probably wish that each area had been explored more thoroughly. Some unifying and analytical comment from the editors of the *Overview* study and more articles would have been welcome. For the ambitious nature of the undertaking, this slim volume seems not quite sufficient.

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OVERVIEW OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH: VOLUME III: SPECIAL RESEARCH AREAS. By David S. Hoopes, Paul B. Pedersen and George W. Renwick (Eds.). Washington: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1978, pp. iii + 147, $4.95.

This volume consists of nine articles on selected special areas of intercultural education, training and research. Like Volume I *(Theory)* and Volume II *(Education and Training)*, this volume is based on the State-of-the-Art Study and the 1977 annual conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR). Most of the articles in this volume present a state-of-the-art analysis of the area examined. Each analysis presents a brief history of the development of the area, clients or persons relevant to the area, underlying assumptions and theories, main approaches and methods used, major issues and problems involved, directions for future research, and the most important resources available for people working in the area. Let us examine each article separately.

The first article deals with evaluation of intercultural courses and programs. In this article, Albert Wight and Neil Boyle have presented a very thorough discussion of the history, theories, methods, problems, research needs, and resources of intercultural evaluation. This is one of the most useful articles in the area of intercultural evaluation.

In the second article, Ruth Hill Useem presents a brief historical development of the "new cultures" and the major issues and problems involved in "building new cultures" around the world. According to Useem, "new cultures are continuously being created by humans as they summarize their experiences, bring system out of chaos, and develop new moral orders out of the happenings of everyday life as they interact with formerly unknown or unrecognized people of other cultural heritages." These new cultures are also called "third" cultures. In this relatively short article, the author presents many interesting ideas for discussion, research and action concerning new cultures.

The third article, "Women, Culture, and Communication," presents several ideas concerning the intercultural communication among women, the development of women within culture, the culture of women, and the basic processes of intercultural communication relative to the culture of women. Although most of the ideas are presented in an outline form, the article suggests many interesting questions for further discussion, research and action in this relatively new area of "women, culture, and communication".

In the fourth article, Reginald Smart has summarized the present "state-of-the-art" of dealing with the explicitly intercultural aspects of foreign student affairs. According to the author, "it is the first time that anyone has attempted the near-impossible task of producing a synoptic view of what we know and do, and what we *need* to know and do if we are to optimize the intercultural value of student exchange." Like other articles in this volume, most of the ideas are presented in an outline form. The article is very comprehensive in covering various intercultural dimensions of foreign student affairs.

The next two articles deal with the area of foreign language instruction. Iris G. Gonzalez, in her article entitled "Culture Teaching and Second Language Instruction," presents several useful ideas concerning the teaching of culture to students of a second language. This article is quite systematic and comprehensive in outlining various dimensions of culture teaching along with second language instruction. In the next article, H. Ned Seelye has summarized six publications relevant to foreign language teachers interested in the study and teaching of "the cultural context of intercultural communication." As the author states, the paper is limited to chronologically "summarizing the summaries" of the six sources that constitute the best introduction to the field. This article is a useful supplement to the preceding article. These two articles, used as a unit, provide many useful ideas and resources for persons interested in incorporating cultural dimensions into the foreign language instruction.

The next article provides an overview of the newly defined field of intercultural writing. According to V. Lynn Tyler, the author of this article, the field of intercultural writing encompasses all forms of translation (written, edited) and interpretation (oral translation) and any other form of cross-cultural transfer of "in-print" messages. The article provides a systematic and useful discussion of history, clients, fundamental assumptions, concepts and theories, alternative methods, basic resources, and steps necessary to the development of relevant theories and practices of intercultural writing.

In the next article, Joseph E. Trimble presents a brief discussion of the issues of forced relocation and migration of cultural groups. The article presents a number of brief scenarios that merit serious consideration, particularly as they relate to the deplorable consequences to groups forced to move because of overriding interests of dominant institutions. Although the article does not deal with intercultural communication aspects of forced migration, it serves a useful purpose of bringing this relatively neglected area to the attention of intercultural communication scholars.

The last article in this volume deals with the effects of the modernization of traditional cultures on the individual. The article presents a very useful review of current issues in modernization research, conceptual models to account for the effects of modernization on the individual, the measurement of modernization and modernism, research strategies for investigating modernization effects, the psychological and behavior consequences of modernization, and recommendations for future research. It is one of the most comprehensive overviews in this volume.

Overall, the volume is a significant contribution to our knowledge of intercultural education, training, and research. It provides systematic and comprehensive overviews of the eight selected areas of intercultural work. The diverse nature of the areas included reflects the richness and multidimensional nature of the intercultural field, but represents only a small sample of the very large number of "special areas" within the broad field of intercultural education, training and research. In this sense, this volume should not be viewed as an all-encompassing or exhaustive overview of all the special areas of intercultural work.

This volume should be quite useful for individuals interested in or entering a particular special area (included in this publication), therefore needing a concise overview of the area. Most overviews are good starting points for such persons. Individuals already working in a given area would also find this volume useful for assessing the current status of the area, for identifying research needs, and for pursuing further research, discussion, and action.

NEMI C. JAIN
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RADIO FOR EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT. By Dean T. Jamison and Emile G. McAnany. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978, pp. 224, Hardcover $15.95, softbound $7.95.

Radio for Education and Development satisfies a current need of practitioners, policy makers and researchers concerned with the role of mass media in development. Radio in particular offers an exclusive possibility for the diffusion of new ideas to otherwise isolated populations, and for the extension of educational services. The stated purpose of the book is "to provide an analytical summary of how radio has been and can be used in efforts to improve the lives of people, especially in low-income countries." The objective appears to have been satisfied by means of a comprehensive review of literature and a heuristic classification scheme under which several case studies are identified.

The book contains six chapters, references and three appendices. The introductory chapter provides the motivation for the book and an overview of the contents. In this first chapter, the reader is introduced to a taxonomy of objectives and delivery modes of "A National Communication System." It is argued that the services of national communication systems can be reduced to four main areas: (1) formal education; (2) development communication; (3) interactive communication; and (4) entertainment. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the role of radio in formal education and development communication respectively. Interactive communication is examined briefly with development communication, and entertainment as a function of radio is ignored as falling "outside the scope of this book."

Chapter 4 discusses the cost of radio in three major sections: (1) cost elements; (2) methods of cost analysis; and (3) examples of application of methods. Chapter 5 analyzes different types of constraints on implementing radio strategies, *e.g.*, external and internal constraints to the effective implementation of radio strategies. The sixth and final chapter constitutes the conclusion and summary of the book.

Following the core of the text and an extensive reference section are three appendices. The first appendix lists the titles of the case studies which constitute the main data base for the book, including author names and addresses. The second appendix is a listing of radio transmission and reception facilities of the countries of the world, and the third is an annotated bibliography of literature on the use of radio for education and development.

In providing a critical review of the contents described, the reviewer is constrained to suggest ways in which the text might be more useful to academicians and practitioners, acknowledging that it is easier to criticize than to write a book of the magnitude and scope of the work reviewed. In the first place, this text seems to overlook or de-emphasize the importance of large-scale radio projects such as the Basic Rural Education project in Guatemala, when several evaluative volumes were already available at the time the book was written. The criteria for consideration and space allocation to different projects are not clear, and one may question the scope and generality of the conclusions. Second, the exclusion of the entertainment function of radio in developing settings is taken for granted too quickly. According to the stated objective of the book, entertainment can be viewed as a tool for improving the lives of people in low-income countries. Behavioral, attitudinal and affective effects of radio entertainment cannot easily be ignored when a great deal of literature now available emphasizes the potential of this type of content for modifying the culture and aspirations of peasants. The book also overlooks the potential of entertainment for enhancing educational and developmental effects, when this type of potential has already been investigated. Third, the political constraints enumerated for the implementation of radio strategies seem naive or at best unspecified. Politically, radio for development seems to have the potential for restructuring the social system. This restructuring possibility may be a more powerful deterrent to the implementation of radio strategies than cost, the diffusion of political ideologies contrary to the *status quo,* or the mobilization of "the large mass of the rural poor." Long term restructuring may be more threatening to politicians than more obvious short term dangers of radical change. Fourth, the study could have been enriched by the inclusion of a section dealing with the quality, substantial and statistical significance of the findings of the reports and case studies reviewed. The conclusions can be taken seriously only when the merit and overall trustworthiness of the results of the studies cited is made explicit. Fifth, but perhaps more important than the above considerations, is the lack of discussion of cultural factors that affect the ways in which radio strategies can be universally applied. Radio projects in Tanzania and Guatemala can be highly effective but due to quite different cultural determinants. What are the world views and belief systems, as well as languages and other cultural factors that must be considered when planning for a radio project for education and/or development? Some consideration could and should have been given to these cultural aspects. Sixth, cost effectiveness is perhaps one of the most pressing practical considerations for implementing radio strategies. The authors could have enriched their work by suggesting cost analysis for behavioral and economical outcomes of radio projects, and not only for the reach of receivers or cost per student-hour.

Despite other minor inconsistencies in the text, Jamison and McAnany offer a very appropriate starting point for considering future avenues of implementation and the evaluation of radio projects to aid "low-income" countries in achieving their educational and developmental goals.

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READING BETWEEN THE LINES: LANGUAGE INDICATORS PROJECT.

By V. Lynn Tyler and James S. Taylor. Provo: Eyring Research Institute, 1978.

Reading Between the Lines is an interim research summary of the Language Indicators Project conducted by V. Lynn Tyler and James S. Taylor. It is with extreme caution that I undertake the writing of a critical review of an interim report. However, it seems appropriate to review this document despite its developmental nature because of its comprehensive and unique approach to the study of language usage in its cultural context.

This report is divided into three major categories. Section one contains the project summary consisting of basic orientations to language study, models for systems development, statements of theoretical principles and guidelines, detailed descriptions and applications of methodology, and recommendations for future research. Section two details the concept of language indicators, and suggests series of themes and thesauri which form the basis of analysis. Themes are representative of cultural traits in general. This report introduces a variety of themes, but largely analyzes social and political ones. The thesauri focus on language contexts and linguistic usage occurring within themes. Within this section culture-specific themes characteristic of the United States, Iran, Japan, and Mexico are discussed. The final section presents a compendium of resources in language and intercultural communication.

Reading Between the Lines introduces the concept of language indicators as a way of predicting "hidden implications in messages crossing language and cultural boundaries." The underlying assumption of this analysis lies in the notion that messages originating within cultures contain cultural information as well as content. Since language is used within specific and readily identifiable contexts, the researcher may isolate "clues and cues to meaning which could be lost . . . through lack of cultural perception or an inability to express what is 'different' or disturbing to ones own system." By establishing descriptors of the cultural patterns possessed by one communicator, and contrasting these descriptors with other persons possessing contrasting cultural patterns it is possible to identify, through the analysis of language in full context, the potential points of confusion, culturally hidden units of meaning, misperceptions, unfamiliar perceptions, and common perceptions in messages transmitted across cultures.

In theory, this model is a logical extension of linguistic relativity suggested by Sapir-Whorf and the Ethnography of Speaking paradigm suggested by Del Hymes in 1972. What is unique and significant in the present work is the attempt to identify potential areas of message interpretation which are culturally hidden and to develop a functional coding taxonomy of language in full context. Such a taxonomy is a substantial step to computer assisted analysis of language contexts and patterns. The consequences of this model increase the reliability of attributions of cultural patterns and perceptual traits based on linguistic analysis.

Characteristic of this work is extensive descriptive text with supporting figures to graphically depict concepts and relationships. Many terms were invented for this project and require the acquisition of new meanings by the reader. Much of the theoretical discussion assumes extensive existing knowledge concerning the nature of culture, the process of language including morphology, syntax, semantics, and appropriate language and social psychology approaches. These include attribution theory, content and discourse analysis forms, junction grammar, and models developed by the Language and Intercultural Research Center at Brigham Young University. While the authors attempt a review and orientation for persons lacking background, the complexity of the text and models precludes this report from having utility for a general professional audience. To be appropriate, revision might include more concrete descriptions of key terminology and relationships, a reduction in those theoretical and methodological considerations which are only peripherally related to the main impact of the study, and an attempt to restructure those few sections of the coding taxonomy of linguistic indicators which appear to be highly jargonized, lacking distinct operational definition, and somewhat redundant. The authors acknowledge the developmental nature of their taxonomy and recognize the inherent difficulty of attempting clear and definitive listing of components appropriate to a comprehensive analysis of communicative indicators of meaning in cultural contexts. Despite these problems, it must be noted that the linguistic coding taxonomy is a substantial contribution that is worthy of academic attention.

Section Two reports on culture-specific themes and thesauri from American, Iranian, Japanese, and Mexican research samples. These themes and thesauri of terms, when contrasted to American connotations, may be used for detecting cultural miscues. These examples of culture-specific comparisons are useful in describing potential interpersonal communication problems among persons of differing cultures. This analysis also indicates the necessity for a more differentiated discussion of American themes. I found myself generating sometimes dramatically different connotations for words than the researchers suggest as being representative of the "American" perspective. Considering the utility of this analysis lies in the accuracy of the comparisons of foreign connotations and "American" concepts, meanings generated by the various cultural, ethnic, and language communities within the United States must be analyzed separately to improve the accuracy of the contrastive analysis. Given the research on the social stratification of language usage and perception, the necessity of cultural differentiation is highly suspected in the foreign cultures as well. It should be stated that the methodology suggested in this report is readily applicable to this type of differentiation. The results of this research produces not so much an "American way" but a series of ways, which potentially produce substantially different connotations.

The final section suggests a highly useful and classified set of references for further study. The bibliography is comprehensive and classified according to degree of difficulty and applicability to general audiences, policy makers, analysts, translators, editors, and businessmen. Many of the citations are annotated for further utility.

Overall, this volume presents the first conceptual and research applications of a significant area of language and cultural study. The comprehensive nature of the project is highly commendable, and specific problems extant in the present report seem to be developmental rather than inherent conceptual or methodological weaknesses. Procedurally and theoretically I have found this research report most exciting and stimulating. The potential implications of this project for understanding the relationship of language, culture, and communication are most significant.

WILLIAM G. DAVEY
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READINGS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, VOLUME II, TEACHING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: CONCEPTS AND COURSES. By David S. Hoopes (Ed.). Pittsburgh: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977, pp. 129, $4.95.

During the past ten years, intercultural communication has been one of the fastest growing areas in the field of speech communication. Often associated with such rapid growth is the development of many diverse and frequently disjointed ideas, approaches, and curricula. This has been especially true in the arena of intercultural communication. Whether one is dealing with communication between people engaged in international business or diplomatic negotiations, or whether one is trying to communicate with a minority group at odds with or in conflict with the majority cultural group, the patterns of interaction often have been called intercultural. The obvious outcome of this has been the development of many curricula for intercultural communication courses that meet individual perceptions of what these courses ought to be or that meet unique situational needs. Needless to say, a need exists for the dissemination of information about intercultural communication curricula that can lead toward a degree of stability in the content and approach of intercultural communication courses through the trading of curricular ideas and viewpoints.

David Hoopes has compiled a volume that helps meet the above need by providing an opportunity for practitioners and teachers of intercultural communication to examine their own ideas and approaches as well as those of many others who are actively engaged in the field. The collection of essays and syllabi Hoopes provides gives an excellent portrayal of the developmental state achieved in the field of intercultural communication education to date. The volume contains a representative survey of how intercultural communication is conceived and taught at over 25 colleges and universities throughout the United States. The richness and diversity of the field is clearly shown through the myriad approaches and concerns reflected in the various syllabi.

Although there is much merit in displaying this richness and diversity, the main value of Hoopes' book is having, in a single collection, a representative sampling of intercultural communication course syllabi. This provides an extremely useful tool to those who wish to construct or to modify courses of instruction in intercultural communication. And because of the wide diversity of approaches and concerns exhibited in these course outlines, there is an abundance of useful ideas that may be adopted in developing or modifying syllabi for intercultural communication.

Hoopes has divided the volume into three useful sections. The first is a series of three articles on the teaching of intercultural communication highlighted by William S. Howell's "Can Intercultural Communication be Taught in the Classroom?" Although the obvious answer is "yes it can," Howell serves us well by defining the scope of intercultural communication that can be taught and by specifying both what one may expect to accomplish in the classroom situation and the circumstances attendant to attaining those objectives. The other two articles by Winston L. Brembeck and by Dean E. Arnold and Norman Frisbey deal with the development and teaching of intercultural communication and cultural awareness in classroom situations. From these three perspectives come an excellent overview of the state of intercultural communication teaching at its current level of development, as well as the aspects of culture amenable to classroom learning.

The second section is a compendium of 26 syllabi of actual courses as they are or have been taught in many colleges and universities throughout the United States. The value of this section is its richness and diversity in terms of types of courses and styles of approach. The syllabi vary from broad-based general courses covering both international and domestic dimensions of intercultural communication to ones dealing with specific cultures, such as Indian, Black, and Mexican-American. The approaches range from developing understanding of human communication processes in intercultural environments to specific value orientations or to interracial perspectives. Each course outline gives the reader a unique framework from which intercultural communication may be taught. Although there is considerable overlap between syllabi, there also are many unique dimensions and approaches of considerable value to people interested in teaching intercultural communication.

A second and very important value of this section is its extensive bibliographic listing. Not only is a variety of texts used in courses reported, but more importantly, books and articles used as auxiliary resources, outside reading, or as a basis for class reports, discussions, or simulation exercises are listed. This bibliography is extremely valuable to those who are new to the field and offers insight and ideas to those who have been interested in intercultural communication for extended periods as well.

Section three focuses on five courses that deal primarily with communication, development, or social change within cultures. These syllabi tend toward mass media concerns about information diffusion in a variety of cultural arenas. The approaches are essentially international in scope and focus on issues of concern to those who are working with developing nations. Teachers of intercultural communication who deal extensively with students who will be working in other countries, whether in "Peace Corps" type capacities or as advisors or consultants to governments of emerging nations, can profit from these course outlines. These syllabi are resplendent with resource citations.

This book is a must for anyone who is at all involved in teaching intercultural communication. The rich and extensive bibliography is in itself more than worth the cost of the volume, but its real value is its collection and presentation of a wide variety of approaches to intercultural communication. In this book, one may find ideas and materials from which a course in intercultural communication may be planned or from which one may gain ideas for modification and improvement of existing courses. Because this volume provides a vehicle for communication among intercultural communication specialists, it offers new opportunity for improvement through the sharing of ideas.

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SEX DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN COMMUNICATION. By Barbara Westbrook Eakins and R. Gene Eakins. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978, pp. xi + 217, $6.50.

Within the last decade, courses on female-male communication have been developed in many speech communication departments. A 1975 summer conference of the Speech Communication Association and research presented at recent national conventions attest further to professional activity in exploring the impact of sex differences on our communication behaviors. Eakins and Eakins have attempted to synthesize the body of research into a textbook based on the assumption "... that all of us, male and female, will do a better job of managing our communication habits after we have examined the verbal and nonverbal behaviors that compose them."

The first six chapters are devoted primarily to reporting the differences between the sexes. Catchy titles cleverly identify the topics: (1) "The sexes: discriminations without differences and differences that discriminate"; (2) "Power, sex, and talk"; (3) "Why can't a woman be more like a man? communication between the sexes"; (4) "Sex patterns in sound"; (5) "When words speak louder than people: the language of gender"; and (6) "Silent sounds and secret messages." The assumption persists throughout these chapters that to recognize the extent of stereotyping in our society will raise our consciousness and motivate us to change. The stereotypes and differences in female and male communication attitudes and behaviors are thoroughly explored. Specific guidelines for judging and evaluating such behaviors are, however, often absent.

The final chapter, "Speaking up: communicating with confidence," is admittedly prescriptive as the sexist barriers of our society are identified and attacked. I was disappointed to find this chapter rather brief (12 pages), and overly simplified in its advice. I had hoped that instead of finding the separate lists of "dos and don'ts" for males and females, a guide to functional human communication could be proposed that would transcend the sex role barriers.

My major negative criticism must be directed at many of the drawings and captions that appear throughout the text. I fear that they may work against the authors' purpose of helping free us of the stereotypic barriers that exist. Unless the reader completes a reading of the full text, he or she may feel that the normative behaviors cited are those expected of one or the other sex; such illustrations of sex-typed behavior taken out of context could reinforce self-fulfilling prophecies of differences. The writing style is appropriate for undergraduate students, maintaining interest through the use of contemporary examples while maintaining authoritative documentation to available research. The suggested activities included at the end of each chapter appear adaptable to classroom experiences and can increase our awareness of the impact of sex differences on our communication.

As part of their conclusion, the authors state: "We intuitively feel that, if at various points along this interlocking chain (of communication variables), some positive alterations are made, the whole communication network will be changed for the better." With the authors, I look forward to the time when our research and our goals for personal change are more exact. I believe that the authors have assembled the body of research into an understandable, commendable work. Hopefully, they have spurred out thinking into concrete hypotheses for appropriate communication behaviors that transcend sex role stereotypes.

BOBBY R. PATTON
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STRATEGIES OF PLANNED CHANGE. By Gerald Zaltman and Robert Duncan.
New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1977, pp. ix + 404, $20.50.

The authors, recognized authorities in organizational change, bring with them a unique set of experience: both have written extensively on behavior change in organizational settings, and both have wide experiences as professional change agents in the United States and abroad. In their book, Zaltman and Duncan merge the relevant literature on innovation, diffusion and organizational change. Using a social-psychological approach to planned change and innovation, this is accomplished succinctly and effectively at the theoretical as well as applied levels, although the major emphasis is on the practical aspects of planned change.

Four categories of change strategies are presented: facilitative, reeducative, persuasive and power strategies. The authors provide numerous examples and suggestions for actually implementing each type of change. Zaltman and Duncan utilize materials from diverse fields ranging from the U. S. Longshoremen's Union's action on a legislative issue to a vasectomy campaign in India. Particular emphasis is given to issues concerning resistance to change, definition of social problems, research utilization, values as well as ethical considerations. In addition, the major actors in planned change, the change agent and agency, the individual and organizational client are discussed. At the end of each chapter a summary of basic principles or guidelines for planning change is presented.

The authors are interventionists; *i.e.,* they are prescriptive with their ideas, something that was not the case with early writers in the area of planned change. They argue that the change agent has to evaluate costs and benefits of change strategies.

It is implied, therefore, that the use of power and coercion — sometimes even deception — is acceptable. The concerns of the target group become secondary since the change agent has his/her job to do. This interventionist's position is a considerable change from earlier writers on this topic. It should be noted, however, that the authors do not suggest change agents should be insensitive or unethical, but neither do they subscribe to an ideology of democratic self-determination, neutrality and openness in client relationships as was professed by writers of earlier phases.

Strategies for Planned Change is a theoretical and practical guide for individuals concerned with inducing internal or external organizational change. This book presents a thorough and comprehensive review and synthesis of research and guidelines that are available elsewhere only in the form of articles and chapters from numerous dispersed sources. The authors present solid and well-organized work; for example, over seventy-five professional change agents were interviewed to secure source material for this book. Students as well as practitioners of planned change will consider *Strategies for Planned Change* a *must* for their reference library.

ROLF T. WIGAND
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TOPICS IN CULTURE LEARNING: VOLUME 5. By Richard W. Brislin and Michael P. Hamnett (Eds.). Honolulu: East-West Culture Learning Institute, 1977, pp. 173.

Any serious teacher, student or researcher will find this fifth volume of *opics in Culture Learning* worthy of careful perusal. It consists of a series of heretofore unpublished articles that are timely, credible and rich in resources. The book is for the scholar, not the trainer or the casual reader.

The articles can be roughly divided into two groups: those of special interest to the educator and those focused on investigative trends and strategies for the researcher. A short review of how the contents of this book can provide help for both groups follows. The first section focuses on topics of education, beginning with an article which recites the feats of an initiated Micronesian navigator, educated in the old traditional fashion, who sailed from Hawaii to Tahiti in a "performance accurate" replica of an ancient Polynesian voyaging vessel. This was accomplished in thirty-one days with a crew of seventeen, without Western instruments or outside navigational information. Non-sailors will skip the details, but everyone will gain a respect for the ability to navigate by wave patterns and "the feel of the whole sky." It becomes abundantly clear, as stated, that "literacy is not a necessary adjunct to a learned man."

Two articles offer the challenge to avoid theoretical orientations that are culturally-bound and relative. Margaret King adapts this to the study of popular culture and Amarjit Singh stresses the need to study the "sociology of sociology" in an excellent article which includes the contrast of three theories, the "conventional" theory, the dependency theory and the critical theory.

Nat Coletta answers the question of how important formal schooling is in the historical process of culture contact and foreign dominance. He writes of how four different foreign rules of Ponape effected change in lifestyle and a discontinuity of the peoples' own skills, values and identity through the school system. Interestingly, of the four imposed styles, the Japanese system of rote learning, harsh discipline and the use of shame were more acceptable to the Pompaeans than the more permissive U.S. system since it closely matched their own cultural ways.

Two articles focus on the emotional and cultural aspects of learning a second language. One is an interesting personal account of learning in context — the study of Hebrew in an intensive ulpan (instruction) in Jerusalem. The other consists of advice and exercises designed to increase sociolinguistic competence, offered by two TESL instructors from New Zealand. Two other specialized articles complete this section, the description of the Kamehameha Early Education Program in Hawaii and an exploration of the concept of expectancy in psychotherapy research and practice. This latter article by Howard Higgenbottom includes the relationship of the cultural belief system of a client to the expectancy process, and the powerful social influence procedures employed by therapists.

The first four articles in the second section deal with general issues in the design of cross-cultural research. One by B. James Starr (who also edits this section) and Suzanne Wilson considers data collection and codification and examines the divergent epistemological views of the universalists and the particularists. Another by Norman Dinges takes a realistic look at the obstacles present in interdisciplinary collaboration. Differences in personality types and leadership styles, the myths of omniscience, the subtle constraint that disciplines place upon members, and use of different levels of analysis are mentioned as having the potential for serious problems. Unfortunately, the solutions that the author gives fall into the category of reducing the differences between cultures and disciplines instead of methods of coping. This is not a vote of confidence for intercultural communication training. Eleanor Elequin counters with recommendations for organizational forms for collaborative research, plus examples of specific projects. Anne-Katrin Eckermann provides a detailed account of the nature, rewards and limitations of the participant observation technique as a research tool. This is enlivened with examples from her own experiences among the Aboriginal people of Queensland, Australia. The last article in the research section selects one concept that has been the basis of much cross-cultural research: anxiety. Sagar Sharma summarizes the major studies and tools that were used, cites the research difficulties, and makes a plea for scales specifically designed for cross-cultural use.

The brevity of this review does not do justice to the content of the articles or the extensive bibliographies that are present. There is much substantive material here for the scholar. What's more, it's the biggest book bargain there is: one copy free for the asking.

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USIA INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE: 1977 PROCEEDINGS. By Michael H. Prosser (Ed.). Washington: International Communication Agency, 1978, pp. xv + 367.

This volume is a collection of abstracts, tentative and semi-spontaneous working papers by the speakers, and assignments completed by participants during the tenth annual Intercultural Communication Course conducted by the United States Information Agency (USIA), in Washington, D.C. from September 6 through October 14, 1977. This material represents a brief summary of the vast amount of material covered during the six weeks course coordinated by Michael H. Prosser, editor of the *Proceedings.* Guest speakers and resource persons for the course included several prominent scholars, teachers, trainers, administrators, and practitioners of intercultural communication and related areas. Seventeen officers of diverse backgrounds were selected to participate in the course: "The six women and eleven men included Foreign Service Information Officers and domestic employees, and represented all four media offices, the Personnel Office, and two geographic areas. Of the domestic employees, five were writer-editors and three were involved with foreign broadcasts for the Voice of America. . . . (The participants) were professional communicators in the process of becoming communication professionals."

The editor expressed the purpose of the course well when he said: "This course enjoys a reputation as being among the pioneering efforts in the United States to link theoretically-inclined academics with practically-inclined official international communicators."

According to the editor, this publication is intended primarily for trainers and teachers of intercultural communication. Its major usefulness is not as a textbook but as a resource for instructors; it gives you a taste, and you may then decide if you want more information. The volume is organized into seven main sections. The first section is an overview of the field of intercultural communication, focusing on research design, social science inquiry, and field research methods. This section provides background information and a foundation for processing and further evaluation of the field of intercultural communication. This section proides even the novice with a basic working knowledge of intercultural communication.

The second section examines culture and communication including value systems, cultural orientations, and interpersonal dimensions; several communication models and their applications to training programs are also presented. In this section the reader is offered the diversity of topic areas which come under the heading of intercultural communication and their appropriateness to training situations.

Research methods contrasting Eastern and Western value systems, bases for communication, and public opinion are the topics of the third section. This takes the reader out of the realm of theory and into the practical realm, where this information can be helpful to both research and diplomacy.

The fourth section includes the thought patterns of culture, sociolinguistic dimensions, and individual perception; this part complements the previous section. Through an indepth understanding of various patterns of thought from different cultures, the intercultural practitioner may expand perceptions and skills. This section is particularly important when one realizes intercultural communication is the continued process of expanding our awareness of the diversity of perceptions, sociolinguistics and thought patterns of peoples around the world.

Media, in all its forms, is the topic of the fifth section. Included are such topics as the past and future of media, African talking drums, communication and change in the Phillipines — development strategies and issues of the seventies, communication development in India and Africa, political and social implications for communication satellite applications in developed and developing countries, world communication as a special construct of reality, and the media and national unity. Since it is largely through media that we learn about different peoples and different ideas, it is important that this section is included; too often readers or textbooks in intercultural communication give only passing reference to media.

The sixth section includes preparing the foreign trainee to return home, selection and training of personnel for overseas postings, and lifelong adult education. These topics are particularly valuable because they teach one how to put theory into practice; if one does not practice new skills, they may be lost. This section gives practical advice about how to achieve this goal.

Finally, the seventh section presents selected research studies and nine book reviews by course participants. Three pilot field studies were included: "Lines of Communication in the U.S. Information Agency," "Looking back at Leisure: The Foreign Service in Black Africa and Western Europe," and "VOA English Broadcasts: Who's Listening." In this section the reader can see immediate results from this course; it is also a forum for the participants to demonstrate their knowledge and the applicability of this kind of information.

The *Proceedings* exposes the reader to many prominent people in the field, with many different views and approaches. The authors of the included papers came from diverse disciplines such as psychology, sociology, political science, English, mass media and linguistics. Also represented were scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, practitioners and administrators. The *Proceedings* provides the intercultural participant with a review, and the non-participant with an overview of the material presented in this course. The value of publishing such proceedings is to stimulate instructors, teachers, and practitioners to undertake research or to do further reading and study. Each offering is brief, allowing the reader enough information to make an intelligent decision about whether or not to pursue the subject.

The book has a few limitations. First, the use of sexist language by most contributors is disappointing. Second, the work lacks transition between chapters. Transition paragraphs would help relate the diverse topics and information. Also, within the framework of a course a dynamic develops. When reading the *Proceedings,* one is not aware of this dynamic; a paper describing the dynamics of the course could have been included. Overall, the volume represents a valuable contribution to the field of intercultural communication. Teachers, trainers, scholars, researchers, and practitioners of intercultural communication will find it useful for a good overview of the field and for identification of ideas for further research and discussion.

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CUMULATIVE INDEX TO INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL
VOLUMES I-V, 1974-79

NEMI C. JAIN and WILLARD A. UNDERWOOD

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